PROBLEMS OF

Child Delinquency

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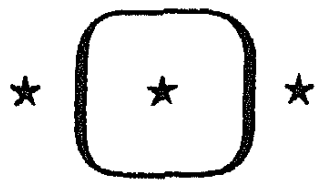
GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD.
182 HIGH HOLBORN LONDON W.C 1
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The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.



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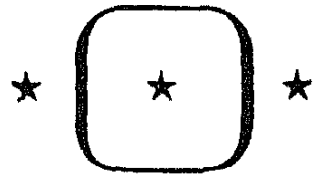
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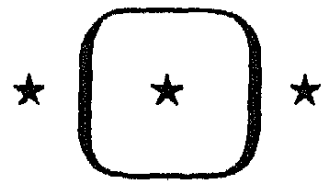
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE present volume has been written by an able student of child behavior who has had wide practical experience in juvenile court work. It presents a modern and scientifically based study of the factors that are important in understanding and dealing constructively with children whose reactions make it necessary for society to characterize them as delinquent.

The book well illustrates a really modern approach to this problem. It recognizes the factors inherent in the individual and the factors inherent in society which are important in understanding delinquency. It does not argue for any panacea. Above all it does not attempt to show that there is one simple and unitary explanation of all delinquency. Rather it is dedicated to a bringing together of important, relevant, and clinically tested techniques and to evaluating many previous studies which bear upon its central theme.

The college student who uses this volume will not gain from it the false impression that the factors which contribute to delinquency are even now all known or that further work

in this challenging field is unnecessary. The spirit of the book is that of presenting a clear introduction to and an evaluation of techniques which have already been used and others which are likely to be of especial value in the future.

Anyone who takes a serious interest in society recognizes that delinquency, and especially the delinquency of children, is a most serious disease of society. Dr. Merrill's book presents a many-sided approach to the great cluster of problems which must be understood if child delinquency is to be prevented and cured. It will be of value to students of psychology, education, sociology, and social work. It has special values also for students of recreation leadership.

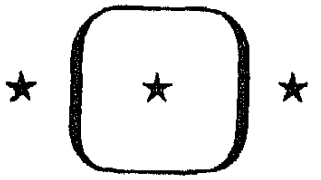
It can confidently be expected, therefore, that this volume will profoundly influence many college and professional school students Some who study it will decide after reading its pages that they will prepare themselves to become professional workers and investigators in the field of delinquency. The book is also valuable for students who will never become professional workers in this field. The future lawyer, physician, or teacher who really studies it will probably be a better professional man than he would have been without the study of this book. The future businessman and homemaker who read it will be better citizens and more informed members of society than they would have been if they had not mastered its pages.

It is very important that the material presented by Dr. Merrill receive a wide hearing. The cure and prevention of child delinquency depend upon the development of an effective and informed public sentiment in regard to this whole field. Many leaders of thought in our communities and not merely a few professional workers must understand the origin and nature of the problems of delinquency if proper measures for dealing with the delinquent are to be supported.

A wise American psychologist once said that a fully competent eye surgeon does more for human welfare than do a dozen individuals who merely speak in abstract rhetorical terms about helping mankind in general. Like the surgeon, this book emphasizes facts and practical techniques. It successfully avoids the wordy exhortations which all too often characterize writings on delinquency.

LEONARD CARMICHAEL

Tufts College



PREFACE

THIS BOOK aims to present some of the problems of those children who pass through our juvenile courts. It was written for people who are interested in the difficulties of adjustment of children growing up in an adult world. It reviews, in the light of what we know about the developmental needs of all children, the dynamic processes of adjustment of a group of children whose behavior is classified as delinquent. If delinquents are like their non-delinquent neighbors in many, perhaps most, of their characteristics, are there important ways in which they differ from children whose conflicts with our social mores do not become the "subject of official action"?

We insist, and rightly, that in discussing the traits of delinquents and the circumstances of their lives we cannot evaluate the importance of any characteristic until we know whether, to any significant extent, it serves to differentiate delinquents from non-delinquents. We know, too, that when we concentrate on traits which differentiate groups we tend to forget the individual. The clinician, the social worker, the judge deals, in each instance, with an individual. Traits are infinitely variable in the number and complexity of their permutations and combinations; yet behavior is organized and patterned. Behavior patterns of delinquents are meaningful in terms of the total configuration of the person in

the frame of reference of his human and material environment.

The children in trouble who have been the special subjects of my study have been boys and girls whom I have known at the time of their contact with the juvenile court and then later as young adults. In order not to be led astray by irrelevancies, I have used the personal characteristics and conditions of life of a non-delinquent group for purposes of comparison and contrast. Individual cases, disguised, of course, as to identifying data, have been included to illustrate certain patterns of behavior which constitute some of the common maladaptive ways of dealing with situations that confront children.

It is the point of view of this book that the behavior of delinquent children is understandable only in terms of the needs of the individual child and of his opportunities or lack of opportunities for satisfying those needs. Thus it is important to know how children feel about things — what people they love and want to be like, what they want to be and what their chances are for being important to *someone* for *something*. I have thought that neither the individual delinquent case, which is always unique, nor the delinquent group which differs only slightly, but in important ways from the non-delinquent group, could alone serve my purpose of presenting the problems of child delinquency. Together the two methods of presenting relevant facts may serve to orient both the general reader and the student of psychology who will be concerned with problems of adjustment in clinical practice. Statistical treatment of data upon which group comparisons have been made have been, for the most part, presented in tabular form in the appendix. No attempt has been made to present a rounded account of the varied and voluminous literature on delinquency. I have made use of many sources. Chief among the reference

materials have been books which have been guide posts on the way to understanding delinquency. Extensive use has been made, too, of material of psychological import dealing with methods of investigation and treatment procedures. The statistical findings of my own ten-year research project constitute a core of factual data which has been supplemented by many additional years of clinical experience with children both in and out of the juvenile court.

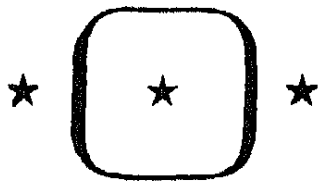
Many individuals and groups have had a share in contributing to whatever measure of understanding of the problems of troubled children has been achieved in this book. I wish to express gratitude and appreciation to the boys and girls who have taken part. Many of them, whether through insight into their own problems or just their willingness to explore, have contributed to a better understanding of the springs of action that motivate their behavior. My deepest debt of gratitude is to my husband, William Francis James, Juvenile Court Judge. Psychological constructs have come to life in his ways of dealing with delinquent children. He has contributed an intuitive knowledge of child personality which, in a very real sense, makes appropriate his facetious designation of himself as a "psychologist-in-law."

The list of people who have in one way or another contributed to this study is too long to make individual acknowledgment. I am indebted to my students, who through their work with individual cases, discussions, and questions, have assisted in clarifying the complex factors involved. To Dr. Alex C. Sherriffs I am indebted for his share in the field studies which involved the delicate task of interviewing and for his capable assistance in the statistical analysis of results. A large share of the field work and of the tabulation and preparation of forms for the follow-up study were done by Katherine C. Walker. Field assistants were Suzanna Atwell, Florence Bell, Elaine Graves, and Elizabeth Mecia. The

graphs were drawn by Stanley King of the Stanford Food Research Institute. Much of the statistical work was done by Marion Ballin. Statistical assistants were Janet Snelling, Frances Merchant Carp, and Holly Grant.

My gratitude is due to the officers of the juvenile court and department of juvenile probation and to the teachers and social workers whose willing co-operation facilitated the difficult task of gaining insight into the problems of adjustment of the young people of our study. And, finally, I wish to acknowledge the valued assistance of the Stanford University Social Science Research Council for grants which, in part, made the study possible.

MAUD A. MERRILL



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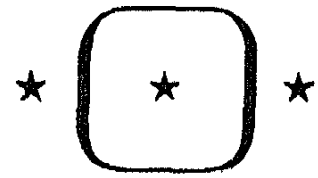
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1

PROBLEMS OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

Yesterday we said this is a thief. What do we do with thieves? Today we say this is a person who steals and try to understand why he steals.

TOWLE.

WHY are children delinquent? When we try to understand why children behave the way they do, especially when that behavior fails to conform to our social norms, we turn for our answer to the delinquent actor rather than to the delinquent act itself. To know why children steal, are truant from school, engage in malicious mischief — we must know what such breaks with "established institutional behavior" mean to the child himself. What needs of the person are being served by delinquent behavior with its heightened emotional tone, its disruption of socially accepted personal relations? What pressures of the child's world — his life-situations as they exist for him — distort his responses? For the child even more than for the adult, the environment is perceived not as it is, but altered in accordance with his need.

The delinquent act has for the child a certain dramatic

quality that highlights the emotional tensions and stresses of which the act is the resultant. In understanding the delinquent child the delinquent act is important only as an indication of conflict, a symptom of maladjustment, but has often been the center of attention because of the vital social consequences of delinquency and crime both for the individual and for society.

In dealing with problems of delinquent behavior it is important to know what personal characteristics, what environmental pressures, what goal-activities differentiate the delinquent from the non-delinquent child. Who are the two hundred thousand delinquent children who will be brought before our juvenile courts next year charged with offenses ranging in seriousness from the breaking of milk bottles on a neighbor's back porch to the strangling of an unwilling girl companion? In what ways are they different from the others who will not come into court? Are they born that way or can they help it? If so, under what circumstances? If they cannot help it, who can?

Who is delinquent?

To determine what are the characteristics of delinquent children has been the task of many observers, the subject of much speculation, and, in recent years, of much research. What has been discovered about who is delinquent has led to much diversity of opinion concerning causes and consequences of the kinds of social behavior classified as delinquent.

A child is classified as a delinquent "when his antisocial tendencies appear" to someone to be "so grave that he becomes, or ought to become, the subject of official action." [1]

[1] Cyril Burt, *The young delinquent* New York Appleton, 1925, p. 15. "A child is to be regarded as technically a delinquent when his antisocial tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to become, the subject of official action"

Burt's definition is a formulation of the current practice of regarding as technically delinquent, children referred to the juvenile court for official action. The fact that such referral by the filing of a petition may be made by an irritated neighbor as well as by a socially minded teacher or established law-enforcing agency explains in part the heterogeneous character of the group so referred.

Children who become the subject of official action are the ones who get caught. We have no means of knowing how frequently delinquent acts are committed by children who are not brought to the attention of the court, or, having been apprehended, are still not referred. We do know that in all probability the number is many times as great as the estimated 1 per cent of the children aged ten to sixteen years who *are* brought before our juvenile courts each year.

The published studies of children who have been categorized as "delinquents" are attempts to characterize the life-situations in which socially disapproved behavior develops and to describe the mental and emotional traits of the children who have been thus singled out as social deviants. But some of the difficulties of interpreting such data become apparent immediately when we consider the fact that our category of "delinquents," that is, children brought before our juvenile courts, includes not only the child who by any social norms in our culture would be considered an extreme deviate, but also the child whose behavior is not essentially different in kind or even in degree from that considered normal, the child who has done the sort of thing every fellow admits doing when he was a kid.

Delinquents are children who are not sharply differentiated from non-delinquent children. Their offenses form a graded series of acts of varying degrees of social consequence from "mere naughtiness" to crimes of major significance. And the seriousness of the offense is in no wise a

criterion of the seriousness or extent of the social maladjustment of the offender. It is a commonplace observation that the delinquent act, without the frame of reference of the total personality of the delinquent actor, has little psychological meaning. Here are two fourteen-year-old boys referred to the juvenile court for burglarizing a warehouse and stealing twenty-five pounds of candy. One of them is an Eagle Scout, commissioner of the student body at his school, alert, friendly, the devoted and responsible son of proud parents — almost a social stereotype of the well-adjusted American boy. The other, proud, too, and intelligent, an aggressive leader in his contacts with his companions, is full of emotional conflict in response to a home environment disrupted and deteriorated by parental conditions. To superficial external observation both homes present the appearance of similar cultural and socio-economic standards. The delinquent act in each of these cases serves to highlight the boy's problems of adjusting his wants and needs to the demands of his social environment and reveals, by reason of this disruption of his usual relations to his social background, conflicts which exist in ordinary life-situations but which no special stress has brought to an emotional crisis.

One's needs at fourteen present many mutually incompatible goal-strivings. Take the situation in the case of our first boy, who, secure in adult approval, needs among other things to maintain status in the estimation of his own-age companions. He is taunted with being a "sissy" if he "stays at home instead of getting out and learning about life", he has a hero-worshipful admiration for his companion who is, by his own admission, a "fellow who can take it"; he is excited by the lure of adventure; and he has, he shamefacedly admits, a small boy's yearning for once in his life to have "all the candy he can eat."

But the personal-social situation of our second boy admits of no such simple analysis. Here the presence of deep-lying emotional tensions and stresses is clearly indicated. Restless and unhappy, he is full of bravado and defiance. Though he talks easily of wanting wealth and social prestige, refers in an offhand manner to the glamor of the "night clubs of Fifty-Second Street," yet he cannot look you in the face. He is defensively loyal to his home, and his insecurity betrays itself also in his lack of confidence in people in general and in his admission that he has no friends. The picture that he tries so defensively to present of a sophisticated "fellow who don't give a damn" is denied by his every gesture

Who is delinquent is determined by his delinquent act, but he is not differentiated by this act from his fellow delinquent or even from his non-delinquent schoolmate. The court that deals with him has come increasingly to recognize this and to formulate its practices less on the traditional adult court pattern and more along the lines indicated by recognized child guidance principles. Indeed, the juvenile court at its inception was founded with the hope that individualization of treatment based on the needs of the individual rather than on the nature of his offense would serve to modify his behavior and to mold it into conformity with socially approved patterns.

Delinquents are made, not born

There is no scientific basis for thinking that delinquent behavior patterns are innate. The doctrine of "moral imbecility" has not been seriously held by scientifically minded persons in the United States since the first half of the nineteenth century,[2] when there was considerable discussion

[2] For a detailed account of the medical conceptions of moral imbecility and their use in the United States, see Arthur E Fink, *Causes of crime: biological theories in the United States 1800–1915.* Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.

among physicians and psychiatrists concerning the existence of a condition described by Tredgold as a fundamental lack of moral sense which is inborn and causes persons so affected to be "absolutely irreformable." [3] There are two objections to the doctrine. The first is theoretical; the second is based on clinical observation. The assumption presupposes an independent moral faculty which may function badly or may be congenitally atrophied without concomitant impairment of other mental faculties. Such a presupposition, postulated originally by the intuitionists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has not flourished among psychologists since the days of John Locke.[4] The second objection was formulated by Healy more than twenty-five years ago and was based upon his experience in the first psychological clinic which, under his direction, was established to study problems of juvenile delinquency in connection with a juvenile court.

> When we began our work there was no point on which we expected more positive data than on moral imbecility. But our findings have turned out to be negative. We have been constantly on the look-out for a moral imbecile, that is, a person not subnormal and otherwise intact in mental powers, who shows himself devoid of moral feeling. We have not found one.[5]

However, the idea in a somewhat modified form is still current in English discussions of problems of mental deficiency and delinquency because of the weight of Tredgold's au-

[3] A F. Tredgold, *Mental deficiency* (2d ed), New York. Wood, 1915, p 326.

[4] See Burt, *op. cit*, p 38 ff The most influential proponent of the doctrine of innate moral degeneracy was Lombroso, who characterized the condition as atavistic, marked by congenital absence of moral discrimination and feeling, the result of primitive ancestral inheritance manifested in pathological physical stigmata as well as mental Thus was formulated the concept of a criminal type or born criminal

[5] William Healy, *The individual delinquent* Boston Little, Brown, 1915, p. 783.

thority and of the fact that the conception has been incorporated into English law.[6]

Cyril Burt, the foremost British authority on juvenile delinquency, as recently as 1925 thought it necessary to devote thirty pages of his book on delinquency to a discussion of the problem of the inheritance of crime. He concluded, on the basis of the evidence of clinical data, that crime is not inherited and that "the hereditary constitution of the criminal, such as it is, we can regard as having at most but an indirect effect." [7] And yet, even "if there is no such thing as a born criminal," [8] Burt finds the notion of the "born offender" a doctrine "with which the psychologist has seriously to reckon." [9]

We shall consider in a later chapter (Chapter 10, p. 268) the Glueck theory that the delinquent who fails to respond to treatment is biologically different from the delinquent who outgrows his delinquency. The Gluecks find support for this interpretation of their data on after-treatment success and failure in Hooton's characterization of criminals as persons who are inferior biologically as well as socially.[10]

In spite of the fact that the informed layman would prob-

[6] In the English Mental Deficiency Act of 1913 moral imbeciles are defined as "persons who from birth or from an early age display some permanent mental defect, coupled with strong vicious or criminal propensities, on which punishment has had little or no deterrent effect."

[7] Burt, *op cit*, p. 56.

[8] *Loc cit.*

[9] *Ibid*, p 43.

[10] Hooton has recently brought out a formidable array of data on physical measurements and morphological characteristics of American criminals. These data indicate a slight inferiority in the physique of criminals in comparison with a small and not very representative sample of the non-criminal population One may be convinced that this slight deviation from the average constitutes an adequate demonstration that the adult criminal population is biologically inferior, but that this physical inferiority is of hereditary origin and that American criminals come from inferior stock is an assumption unproved by his data Earnest A. Hooton, *The American criminal: an anthropological study*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

ably disclaim a belief in the inheritance of crime, there still persists the same fallacious notion in this country, as well as in Britain, that "there must be something fundamentally wrong with a boy who behaves like that," that "a girl who does such things must have a mental quirk somewhere," or — a favorite expression of the social worker — "that child must be mental." In almost all of these cases, careful study reveals a multitude of various factors — social, educational, personal — adequate to account for the deviant behavior in question.

One common assumption arising out of a lack of understanding of the facts of child development is that somehow it is normal or natural to be good (by which we usually mean to conform to adult standards) and abnormal to be bad, that is, to fail to conform to conventional adult standards. That children are not born with ready-made adjustments to the conditions imposed by their adult human environment is a conclusion to which the results of the many volumes of modern experimental studies of child behavior and development point with complete unanimity. Indeed, even the simplest adjustments, such as those required for the eye-hand co-ordinations of reaching and grasping, are the result of very complex series of behavioral adaptations acquired in the course of development. We are only just beginning to appreciate the complexity of the problems involved in the acquisition of acceptable patterns of social behavior or the development of the kind of personality that is capable of acquiring acceptable behavior patterns. The obvious facts are that age is a factor in social behavior, that the stages of social development, while not sharply defined, are discernible and are presupposed in a general way in our norms of child behavior. The two-year-old is not referred to a child guidance clinic because he bangs on the polished table with his toy truck, but persistence in the same kind of

behavior in the ten-year-old may precipitate just such action on the part of a puzzled and harassed parent.

The facts of the development of social behavior in childhood further emphasize the bewildering personal problems presented to the child by the demands and attitudes of adults influencing him differently at different age levels. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb suggest some "characteristics of the changing world that children step into at different ages." [11] At first the child is the idol of the family, adored and admired and expected to be cute and beautiful. Later he begins to "get in the way"; there are "don'ts," irritations, restraints, and physical punishment. Then he is expected to sit still in school and learn to read. He is scolded by the principal for cutting up, rebuked by the policeman for hitching rides, ridiculed for being awkward, expected by his own age group to show his independence of authority, by his parents and teachers to accept absolute authority. He needs, at the same time, the approval of his parents and the prestige of status achieved in the eyes of his companions.

The asocial character of normal child behavior is further emphasized by the psychoanalysts, who have been insistently pointing out with all of the dramatic emphasis of the Freudian symbolism that the behavior of infants is essentially ego-centered and non-social in character. The problem of child delinquency to the psychoanalyst is not "Why do children become delinquent" but "Why don't all children become delinquent."

Piaget, too, in his studies of the child's world, found evidence of the characteristic egocentrism of childhood ways of thinking and acting, of perceiving and feeling, and has brought out in rich detail the ways in which children absorb the social norms of our civilization and how they gradually grow into the culture patterns of adult groups.

[11] G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental social psychology* New York Harper, 1937, p 825.

Why are children delinquent?

The determination of why children become delinquent is fraught with many difficulties. In the first place, nothing is more certain than that there are usually, even in the individual case, many causes, or, as we prefer to call them with greater show of scientific precision, contributing factors. Which one may be the precipitating or exciting cause of the particular dramatic episode that constitutes a delinquent act may be not only obscure, but also totally unimportant — even such an insignificant event as happening to meet Bobby B. at the corner or the fact that at that particular moment our predelinquent happens to be hungry for candy.

How shall the relative importance of the factors contributing to delinquent behavior be determined? One way of approaching the problem has been to compare the various frequencies of occurrence of particular situations or traits that are found to be associated with delinquent behavior and to weight them accordingly. We have not, however, succeeded in avoiding the bias of the observer in so doing.

Suppose we were to weight the importance of certain factors according to the frequency of occurrence as reported by parental observers. There is almost universal unanimity of opinion among parents that the most frequent cause of juvenile delinquency — and, we might add, the only cause — is the influence of bad companions. "Not my boy — he never did anything till he began going with that Smith boy. I tell you, Judge, my boy's all right; he just got into bad company."

Even in the case of quite unbiased observers, attempts to separate factors on the basis of frequency into major and minor causes of delinquency often represent subjective evaluations rather than objective classifications. The fact that

such astute observers as Healy and Bronner [12] differ from the equally competent authority of Burt [13] in reporting the influence of bad companions as a factor in delinquency bears witness to the evaluative rather than the statistical character of the observation. (Healy and Bronner point out that companionship is a causative factor in approximately 62 per cent of the three thousand cases which they reported in 1926 in *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*, whereas Burt considers that bad companionship plays a minor role, being a factor of minor importance in somewhat less than 18 per cent of his cases. It should be pointed out that in the case of all three of these authors the conclusions of twenty years ago may not represent their present views on the subject.)

Because of the multiplicity of these determining factors and also because of the difficulty of establishing causal relationships, even where the factors are known to exist, the answers to our why will still be equivocal In seeking to establish causal relationships by determining in what percentage of the cases certain events — social or developmental — have occurred, we are applying the logic of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. It does not, of course, follow that because these things have happened in the development of a delinquent child they are therefore causally related to his maladjustive behavior. Yet much of the early published material on the causes of crime, especially the sociological data relative to the correlation of certain environmental conditions and delinquent and criminal behavior patterns, has not avoided this fallacy. Mere concomitance, of course, is insufficient in itself to demonstrate a causal basis for the relationship.

[12] William Healy and Augusta F Bronner, *Delinquents and criminals, their making and unmaking*. New York Macmillan, 1926, p. 179.

[13] Burt, *op cit.*, p. 125.

If we consider, say, the relationship between two factors, broken homes and child delinquency, there are four possible combinations – broken homes and delinquent children, broken homes and non-delinquent children, unbroken homes and non-delinquent children, and unbroken homes and delinquent children. It has often been noted and the fact pointed out that delinquent children in an impressive percentage of the cases come from broken homes. As Anderson, whose illustration I have paraphrased above, points out:

> To know the true relation, we must have more than the frequency with which two factors occur together; we must also have the frequencies which show how often either factor is present and the other absent.[14]

Burt pointed out twenty years ago that:

> An examination of delinquents alone can never be conclusive. To find, among a batch of young offenders, that 8 per cent are . . . illegitimate, that 19 per cent come . . . from very poor homes, and that nearly 30 per cent are . . . definitely dull and backward – all this means nothing until we have discovered how often the normal unoffending child is similarly afflicted. A control group is essential.[15]

We can then say that a certain situation or trait is found four, five, or ten times as often among delinquents as among non-delinquents. We should know, too, how often a difference of any given magnitude between a delinquent and a non-delinquent group would occur just by chance. We need to use our statistical tools to assist in the interpretation of such findings, tools that enable us to estimate the probability

[14] John E. Anderson, The methods of child psychology. In *Handbook of child psychology*, C. Murchison (Ed.) (2d ed. rev.) Worcester Clark University Press, 1931, p. 17

[15] Reprinted by permission from *The young delinquent* by Cyril Burt. Copyrighted, 1925, by D. Appleton & Company, p. 12

that an observed difference is a real difference or one that might have occurred by chance.[16]

One of the difficulties of interpretation of data concerning the relationship between delinquency and other conditions may be illustrated by referring again to the attempt to answer the question as to whether a demonstrable causal relationship exists between broken homes and delinquency. In seeking to throw further light on the influence of the disrupted family group on the frequency of occurrence of delinquency, Shaw and McKay found in a study made in Chicago that the stability of family life differs tremendously for different nationality groups.[17] They found, too, that the rate of increase of broken homes in the successive age groups is almost as great as the variation in the rates between nationalities. So it was evident that the effects of age and nationality differences would have to be held constant before valid comparisons could be made between a delinquent group and a non-delinquent control group. Consequently, the non-delinquent control group used for comparison with their delinquent group was so chosen as to be identical with respect to nationality and age composition. We may have fairly adequate data on the constellations of facts that are associated with the development of delinquent behavior, but, without knowledge of how often these same

[16] In our own research, from which the material to be reported in this book is chiefly drawn, we have utilized the Chi-square method of computing the relationship between groups and to determine the probability that any observed difference between group averages is a true difference, the critical ratio If there are 999 chances in a thousand that a difference is greater than zero, we shall report it as "statistically significant" By statistical significance then, in this discussion, we shall mean that for Chi-square P = <.01 or that the C R $\left(\frac{\text{Diff}}{\sigma \text{ Diff}}\right)$ is 3 or greater than 3.

[17] Clifford R Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Social factors in delinquency. In vol. II of *Report on the causes of crime of the national commission on law observance and enforcement* Washington. United States Government Printing Office, 1931, pp. 261–284.

things happen in the development of non-delinquents who are comparable in other respects, our observations are worthless. It will be apparent, too, that although we may match our delinquents with non-delinquent cases in many respects it is obviously impossible to match in all features, even if we knew the relevant combinations which should be controlled.

One source of difficulty inherent in all delinquency studies by their very nature should also be noted. Studies of delinquent children begin with the observed facts concerning *delinquents*, that is, with maladjustments that have already developed, and attempt to discover the genesis of those maladjustments by tracing back their antecedents.[18] We know that certain conditions are found in the case of delinquents to a significantly greater extent than in the case of non-delinquents Even if the relationship that has been demonstrated is a true relationship, even if these events, this home, these parents, this parent-child relationship, these socio-economic pressures did contribute to the antisocial behavior of the delinquent, still in the case of other children where similar circumstances have existed no antisocial behavior developed. The only present answer that is offered is the psychiatrist's – that all we know is that every individual has his breaking-point and that that breaking-point is not the same for individual B as for individual A.

If our survey of some of the problems of child delin-

[18] Such continuing, longitudinal studies as those now being carried on at the Institute of Child Welfare at the University of California should contribute invaluable information concerning this problem. Studies now in progress are tracing the developing adjustive and maladjustive patterns of behavior in a representative group of children beginning at their birth. Macfarlane, in the first of a series of monographs describing the course of development of these children, indicates one of the purposes of the research "By studying the later 'successes' and 'failures' from our group who may have had here and there similar maladjustive reactions, we may be able to pick out certain configurations which are danger signals, others which are not" Jean Walker Macfarlane, Studies in child guidance methodology of data collection and organization. *Monogr. Soc Res. Child Developm.*, 1938, 3, No. 6, p. 1

quency seems to reveal chiefly the difficulties and the inadequacies of present achievements and views, we must remember that delinquency studies grow out of the demands of very pressing realities, that our problems can never be set up with due regard for the requirements of laboratory precision, and that it is always a real child in a real life-situation who is involved. "Time," as Burt points out, "and the unavoidable limits of administrative machinery demand simplification in treatment as well as in case analysis." [19] He might have added also that considerations determined by the well-being of the case often demand curtailment of examination procedures in the service clinic, which, rather than the research clinic, serves the juvenile court.

The Juvenile Clinic of X County, California

The plan of the present study is to present the facts revealed by an analysis of case studies of a representative group of delinquent children referred to the juvenile court of a rural county in California. A comprehensive study was made of each individual child referred to the court during a two-year period and includes 300 unselected run-of-the-mill cases.[20] The sample includes approximately 95 per cent of the cases referred to the court during the period from April, 1933, to June, 1935, and was chosen without reference to any selective factors, such as suspected mental handicaps, instability, school retardation, recidivism, or seriousness of offense.

The fact that any given percentage of juvenile offenders is found to have foreign-born parents, come from broken homes, have red hair, be mentally defective, means nothing

[19] Burt, *op cit.*, p 27

[20] Later a similarly representative group of 200 cases was added for purposes of validation of the traits found for the main sample and to contribute to a study of the intelligence of delinquents. Cf. Appendix D.

unless we know that, with respect to these characteristics, delinquents differ significantly from a similar group of non-delinquents. Accordingly, a control group of non-delinquent school children from the same communities was selected for study and comparison with the delinquent group. The groups were matched for sex, age, and locality. The delinquent group included 242 boys and 58 girls. Similarly, the control group included 242 boys and 58 girls of the same age as the delinquent boys and girls and consisted of children who lived in the same neighborhoods and attended the same schools.

There have been many studies dealing with the characteristics of groups of delinquents selected in various ways. A few, like Burt's London study in 1925,[21] Healy and Bronner's *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*,[22] and the Carr-Saunders, Mannheim, Rhodes recent report dealing with social and environmental conditions of young offenders in the English courts,[23] make use of control groups in interpreting the significance of the factors studied. Others, such as the Glueck studies,[24] have made notable contributions to our information concerning the after-treatment development of men and women who, in their youth, have been offenders. The present study not only reports an analysis of the differentiating factors between delinquents and non-delinquents, but also includes an account of the careers and young adult characteristics of the two groups in a follow-up study made four to six years after the original study.

[21] Burt, *op. cit.*

[22] William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New light on delinquency and its treatment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

[23] A. M. Carr-Saunders, Herman Mannheim, and E. C. Rhodes, *Young offenders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

[24] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *500 criminal careers*. New York: Knopf, 1930, *Five hundred delinquent women*. New York: Knopf, 1934; *One thousand juvenile delinquents*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934; *Later criminal careers*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1937; *Juvenile delinquents grown up*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940, and *Criminal careers in retrospect*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943.

Fully aware as I have been of the pitfalls and artifacts of statistical analysis – as the authors of *Young Offenders* recently pointed out:

> We never discover that all delinquents have been subject to one kind of influence or show some distinctive characteristic, while all our controls have been free from such influence or do not exhibit that characteristic.[25]

– I have tried to show, not only how delinquents differ from non-delinquents and how they are alike in their development, but to study individual children, to understand something about the dynamics of behavior as seen in the individual case. I have wanted to know in the case of Sammy, not only how many times in a hundred a boy of his age, with his environment, coming from his kind of home, might be expected to behave in a given way, but also, "What makes Sammy run?" In this book we shall be concerned also with the individual case. The answer to the problem of Sammy will never be found by summing his scores on all his separate, measurable, mental functions. But if, with the corrective of our generalizations about the group, we can see Sammy and John and Mary in the frame of reference of the social pressures that are effective on each; if we can see each in terms of his particular needs and the opportunities or lack of opportunities for satisfying those needs, the hates, fears, and loves and individual frustrations, we shall come nearer to an understanding of why children – delinquent children – behave the way they do.

[25] Carr-Saunders, Mannheim, and Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

★ 2 ★

UNDERSTANDING THE DELINQUENT: RESOURCES FOR THE CLINICIAN

THE COURT is dealing, in a very real sense, psychologically, with "youth in conflict with authority." [1] This fact imposes certain limitations and at the same time offers some advantages to the clinical approach to an understanding of his behavior. The court represents authority and everyone connected with the court is viewed initially with the suspicion and resentment that authority is so apt to imply for the adolescent. Thus the clinician must frequently first just accept the child's emotional load of resentment before he can, in turn, be accepted in his role of understanding counselor. This acceptance of the psychologist by the delinquent depends in large part on the skill of the former in demonstrating his good faith and trustworthiness in a situation so fraught for the young offender with mistrust and insecurity.

It is to the advantage of the psychologist, in his task of understanding the young person who has been brought before the court, that, in itself, the experience of being apprehended and detained has such dramatic force for the child, especially if it is his first offense. Sometimes the very fact that the situation itself, with its sudden disruption of his

[1] Miriam Van Waters, *Youth in conflict.* New York. Republic Publishing Company, 1925.

usual relationship to his world, brings to a focus on the event certain emotional factors, resentments, conflicts, and frustrations – enhances the child's need to unburden himself to an understanding listener. Thus such an emotional crisis may break down the restraints and inhibitions that have built up a wall of resistance for the youth in conflict.

The contacts of the psychologist with children brought before the X County Juvenile Court have been, of necessity, chiefly diagnostic. Limitations of both time and appropriate opportunity have necessitated the use of techniques which appeared to offer help in analyzing the needs of the individual child in his special life-situation with a view, particularly, to planning with the court suitable treatment procedures. By treatment procedures [2] we mean what we did to change the behavior of the delinquent children who came before the court. One of the purposes of this book is to inquire what changes were effected. We have, of course, no way of assigning a specific effect to a specific cause, e.g., we make no such false generalization as that stealing behavior is cured by foster-home placement. But we can determine that the success of foster-home [3] care is related causally to such factors as age, stability, intelligence, recidivism, and other characteristics of the delinquent so treated. And it is only through the analysis of such cause-and-effect relationships, where the multiple-factor causation of any behavior effect is recognized, that we can ever hope to treat problem behavior.

We think of delinquent behavior as symptomatic of maladjustment. We undertake to determine how such behavior satisfies the needs and strivings of the child in his life-situation in order to apply a remedy, i.e., to remove the child's

[2] See the discussion on "What is meant by 'treatment' " in Carl R. Rogers, *The clinical treatment of the problem child.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939, pp. 12–15.

[3] *Ibid*, pp 77–101

problem by removing the causes of his problem. We may attempt to change his behavior by changing or modifying his environment. Such remedies might be expected to be effective if our diagnosis revealed the existence of certain patterns of personal-social relationships in which environmental factors were crucial. Thus, under certain conditions, the child may be removed from his home. Again, it may be feasible to attempt to modify his environment without removing him from his home, e.g., to try to change the attitudes of his parents toward situations which have been found to create conflicts.

Or we may try to change his behavior by working on the child directly. This kind of treatment is called counseling and varies in its application from the "ordering and forbidding" of the presocial work era of probation work to the non-directive psychotherapy of the modern child guidance clinic. The aim of such procedures is to effect, by means of face-to-face personal contact, changes in the child's feelings and attitudes that will alter his behavior.

Attempting to alter behavior by advice and persuasion, ordering and forbidding, is, unhappily, one of the commonest ways of the probation officer with the delinquent. The ineffectiveness of such methods has been demonstrated all too frequently both by probation officers and by parents of delinquent children. Again and again, in the days before the clinic, the office report sheet records the fact that the child was admonished and put on probation to report once a week. The probation officer of the presocial work era was a person who conceived his probation duty in terms of forbidding a child to do this, to go there, or to consort with specifically proscribed associates, of ordering him to forsake his evil ways, working him up to an overwrought emotional state and exhorting him to behave himself, usually adding the threat "or else be put away." This method may be, as

Rogers points out,[4] a "museum piece in psychotherapy," but it is still an all-too-common practice in probation offices where personnel are selected on the basis of local affiliations and sentiment rather than training in social work. The ordering-and-forbidding approach is based upon the assumptions that the child is a free agent and that he deliberately chooses his behavior instead of upon the recognition of the fact that behavior is the "resultant . . . of many forces."

One could multiply almost indefinitely the instances of parental futility in forbidding delinquent behavior. One of the most futile parents I have encountered was the mother of a six-year-old colored boy who was brought into court for throwing lighted matches into parked cars as he passed along the street. This incident climaxed a long series of offenses, and his mother is explaining how hard she has tried to make Bobby a good boy. "Ah jus' don' know why he is so bad, ma'm. Ah tell him to be good and not to steal and not do all those things. Ah don' know *why* he's so bad." Then she adds in a vague effort to vindicate the family honor, "Ah got a brother — he must be fifty years old now — and he ain't nevah been in jail yet Ah jus' cain't see why Bobby is so bad." But there are resources for the clinician to help understand "why Bobby is so bad" even in the case of a little six-year-old. We shall come to that in our discussions of what use can be made of the "play techniques" in understanding the delinquent child's world.

However badly we have misused the method of treatment by personal contact, it remains to be said that one of the most widely used and most promising of the current psychotherapeutic techniques is the non-directive counseling method, a method of treatment by personal contact. While the method itself in its entirety has its chief usefulness in a

[4] Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and psychotherapy* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942, pp 19–47

guidance clinic, its basic principles are applicable in any situation where a counseling relationship is involved.

The most essential thing about this so-called counseling relationship is the consciousness on the part of "client," adult or child subject, that he himself is accepted by the counselor. It is important, especially in the case of the young delinquent, that this acceptance is clearly an acceptance of himself as he is, but not a condoning of his aberrant behavior. Garrett clarifies the concept in her discussion of the interview. An understanding of this attitude of acceptance is of fundamental importance in dealing with delinquent children.

> . . . it is not easy to say how an interviewer can accept aberrant behavior or attitudes on the part of a client and yet maintain his own and the community's standards. . . . Real acceptance is primarily acceptance of the feelings given expression by behavior and does not necessarily involve acceptance of unsocial behavior at all: real acceptance involves positive and active understanding of these feelings and not merely a negative and passive refusal to pass judgment. A merely negative attitude of not passing judgment on a client's unusual behavior is often interpreted by him as a condoning of that behavior, a repudiation of a standard he himself accepts but has failed to live up to. . . . A child whose petty stealing is ignored is not at all reassured, as he would be if he were confronted by the interviewer with knowledge of this misbehavior and yet convinced that in spite of this the worker accepted him in the fuller sense of understanding his feelings and the emotional conflicts which induced his stealing. A child feels that a person who thus understands him is his friend. Such a person's recognition of misbehavior will be a sign that he wants to help overcome it. To accept then is not to condone anti-social behavior but to understand it in the sense of understanding the feelings it expresses.[5]

[5] Annette Garrett, *Interviewing its principles and methods.* New York. Family Welfare Association of America, 1942, pp. 22–23

There is still another characteristic of adolescent behavior — apparent especially in a study of unselected court cases — that everyone who has dealt with children in the juvenile court recognizes as accounting for some of the offenses for which children are apprehended. That is the impulsive recklessness of much youthful behavior. We have emphasized the maladaptive character of delinquent acts and have stressed their function as ways of relieving conflict. There is powerful motivation, too, in the sheer thrill of dangerous and daring action that stirs the imagination and fires youthful adventuring. Luring the neighbor's watch-dog to the other side of the enclosure by baiting him while your companions steal the fruit from the trees the dog was left to guard has motivating factors in common with devising clever means to enter a building while the night watchman is after the pal who draws him off with a ruse. There is ingenuity in devising schemes to beat the game, there is daring, whether born of courage or of bravado, in eluding pursuers; there is heady satisfaction in the awed admiration of unscrupulous companions. We need to know what part such socially valuable traits as courage, willingness to take chances, leadership, play in the behavior of the young delinquent. Such personal qualities, which play a part in delinquent behavior, need recognition and acceptance in the sense of understanding the springs of such action if the child's behavior is to be changed into socially acceptable channels. There are social rewards of considerable magnitude in our culture for such personality traits.

Assessing social environment

Essential to understanding a child is seeing him in relation to the factors in his social environment which determine in such large part his responses to that environment. A delinquent child is not just a case on the juvenile calendar

charged with such and such an offense for which offense such and such consequences are prescribed. He is a member of a family, he attends school, he plays with other children.

Delinquents are children who are not very sharply differentiated from other, non-delinquent children. They are children who steal things that enhance their prestige in the eyes of their companions — soda pop, cigarettes, money for movies, rides in someone's car, they are children who hate school and stay away; they are children who have nothing to do for a good time at home and seek excitement on the streets, they are children who like to be on the go; they are children who are not secure and happy at home.

We have eight-year-old Jerry, whose first delinquency was trying to sell library books to buy candy and who smiled his way into the good graces of every teacher and social worker with whom he came in contact, we have whining, timorous Alvin, who could never get along at school and whose grandmother fought all his battles; we have Tommy, who was never important anywhere until he began to steal and who never did find socially approved activity that rivaled the excitement and offered the thrill of his role as "the mystery burglar"

In evaluating the interrelationships between our X County delinquent subjects and their "social frames of reference," we have such resources as the social case history, the report of the school concerning the child's personal-social and learning adjustments, interviews of probation officer and psychologist with the child and his parents, the child's own story, and our observations of his behavior during his contacts with probation office, clinic, and court. These facts are obtained at the time of the clinic's first contact with the child. Sources for subsequent social data are later contacts with the probation officer, sometimes other court appear-

ances, school and employment records, and a detailed follow-up interview with the clinic's field worker after a four- to six-year interval following the child's first contact with the clinic.[6] Such data as these contribute to an evaluation of the results of treatment

Understanding delinquent personality

One of the ways of diagnosing delinquent personality is to apply personality tests.[7] Such tests attempt to measure personality by rating the degree to which a person possesses certain defined traits, such as self-sufficiency, submissiveness, emotional stability, honesty, etc.; by the use of questionnaires and inventories which sample the interests, attitudes, and adjustments of the adult or child subject; and by securing a direct record of conduct on a performance test, e.g., giving the subject an opportunity to cheat and scoring him on the basis of his actual performance.

In the sense that a test presents "a standard situation, which provokes a response capable of quantitative or qualitative evaluation," [8] the projective techniques are "tests" of personality, also. But since the projective methods have developed out of a different philosophy of measurement and have not been very amenable to the ordinary canons of "methodological respectability," they will be discussed in a separate section.

Paper-and-pencil tests as a means of revealing person-

[6] Since the present research includes an unselected sampling of the court cases during a two-year period, some of the children studied in the clinic were already recidivists, having had a previous court appearance for an earlier offense. Our follow-up survey was made approximately five years after the child's clinic contact.

[7] An excellent summary of the results of the application of personality tests to delinquents will be found in the article by Milton Metfessel and Constance Lovell (Recent literature on individual correlates of crime *Psychol. Bull*, 1942, **39**, 153–160), which reviews the literature from 1930 to 1940.

[8] Leta Hollingworth, *The psychology of subnormal children.* New York: Macmillan, 1920, p 70.

ality characteristics have been especially difficult to interpret for the very reason that answers to questions about oneself and self-ratings are so apt, particularly in the case of delinquent children, to be distorted by the very affective factors, attitudes, and defense mechanisms that we are attempting to evaluate. Thus the tests, themselves, as fact-finding devices, are of uncertain worth. Invalid responses on personality tests are not alone due to the fact that a boy in a jam wants to make a good impression by giving the socially acceptable response. Even if he does give the response that he genuinely believes to be true about himself, that belief is in part determined by what he wants to believe about himself as well as by the norms of our culture.

Nevertheless it is of such crucial importance to have objective measures of personality which serve as checks on subjective impressions and to reveal "unsuspected areas of tension" in maladjusted children that psychologists have, especially within the last ten years, tried out a number of the ready-made personality tests and devised others for use especially with problem children. These measures include rating scales and inventories which attempt to classify personality traits and behavior, questionnaires on interests, attitudes, and behavior, and tests which attempt to gauge adjustment through the presentation of various situations involving behavior problems for the child to solve.

Using a rating technique, a scale for predicting delinquent behavior was devised by Haggerty, Olson, and Wickman.[9] The user of the scale must be well enough acquainted with the child he is rating to enable him to judge his subject, by comparing him with children of his own age, on thirty-five different intellectual, physical, social, and emotional traits. These ratings are made graphically by placing a cross (×)

[9] M. E. Haggerty, W. C. Olson, and E. K. Wickman, *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman behavior rating schedules.* Yonkers. World Book Company, 1930.

above the appropriate descriptive phrase for each trait rated. For example, one of the intellectual traits rated is alertness:

2. Is he abstracted or wide-awake? *Score*

Continually absorbed in himself	Frequently becomes abstracted	Usually present minded	Wide-awake	Keenly alive and alert	
(5)	(4)	(2)	(1)	(3)	——

One of the items of social behavior is:

20. How does he accept authority?

Defiant	Critical of authority	Ordinarily obedient	Respectful, complies by habit	Entirely resigned. Accepts all authority	
(5)	(4)	(3)	(1)	(2)	——

Emotional behavior is rated on the basis of such items as:

29. How does he react to frustrations or to unpleasant situations?

Very submissive; long-suffering	Tolerant. Rarely blows up	Generally self-controlled	Impatient	Easily irritated Hot-headed. Explosive	
(3)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(5)	——

Some of the difficulties with rating scales of personality traits will be obvious from consideration of this scale, which is one of the most carefully constructed of its kind. There is, first, the difficulty of being sure that the scale measures what it purports to measure,-i e., the problem of its validity. In the case of this scale, results have been compared with other estimates of the same traits made by clinical psychologists and teachers and checked against the subsequent histories of some of the children. The ability to use the problem-tendency score earned on the scale to predict later behavior would be an indication of the validity of the scale. One of its authors, after securing behavior ratings on

three thousand children who were just entering school, kept a subsequent record of all this group of children who later came into juvenile court.[10] He concluded that, for the most part, those children who came into court were the ones for whom such a career would have been predicted in advance on the basis of their problem-tendency ratings.

Another difficulty with rating methods for describing personality is the tendency of the rater to be influenced in rating one trait by the way he rated preceding traits. If Tony stands out in the classroom by reason of his troublesome behavior, his teacher's rating of his good traits may be influenced to such an extent by her ratings of his irritating behavior that Tony's score is a measure of his teacher's attitude rather than an objective rating of his behavior. This tendency for general attitudes to influence specific reactions is well known to psychologists as the halo effect. The halo effect, obviously, would operate to affect the validity of the scale.

It will be apparent, too, that it is easier to rate certain personality traits, for example, those characterizing aggressive behavior, than it is to rate such traits as sensitivity, seclusiveness, suspiciousness, tendency to worry, and the like. The result is that Tony, who is always being sent to the principal's office for fighting, breaking a window, or disobeying the rules, will be more accurately rated on a behavior rating scale than will shy Russell, who takes part in games with his heart in his mouth and never misses an opportunity to slip away to watch from the sidelines.

Instead of having the child rated by someone else, e.g., a teacher or counselor, some of the tests make use of self-ratings. Sweet's Personal Attitudes Test utilizes self-ratings and adds, for comparison with scores on "How I feel" about

[10] W C Olson, The prediction of delinquency from early behavior. (Abstract.) *Psychol Bull*, 1937, **34**, 779.

the various situations which the test presents, ratings on "How most boys feel" and "How I think I ought to feel." [11] These are called the Self-Ordinary-Ideal ratings. This is one of the methods utilized in our follow-up study and will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

One of the few personality tests which, like Sweet's, was designed for use with younger children is Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment.[12] This test was

> devised to measure roughly the extent to which a child is satisfactorily adjusted toward his fellows, his family, and himself. It is also intended to throw some light on his methods of meeting his difficulties — whether he covers his weaknesses by bragging, and attempts to bluff his way through life, or withdraws into himself, finding his satisfactions in a life of fantasy.[13]

This is one of the tests that attempts to gauge adjustment indirectly, in that the purpose of the questions is not obvious to the child subject. The test yields scores on personal inferiority, social maladjustment, family maladjustment, and daydreaming, but each subtest presents material that appears to refer to the child's everyday world. For example, the child's feelings about himself and his ideals or what he wishes he were like are revealed by his self-ratings on such items as this:

9. John is the most popular boy in school. Everybody likes him.

Am I just like him?	Yes								No
Do I wish to be just like him?	Yes								No

[11] Lennig Sweet, *The measurement of personal attitudes in younger boys* (*Young Men's Christian Association Occasional Studies*, no 9) New York. Association Press, 1929

[12] Reprinted by permission, from *Test of Personality Adjustment* by Carl R Rogers, Association Press, New York, 1931.

[13] *Loc cit.* (Manual of Directions.)

Various other devices, utilizing self-ratings and responses to questions, measure the child's adjustment to his companions and family as well as his reaction to himself and his own limitations.

In a field where the measurement of personal attitudes, conflicts, and maladjustments is so very difficult, it is particularly unfortunate that the usefulness of a test so ingenious should be limited by the mechanics of administration and scoring. Even though the scoring is, as its author points out, cumbersome, the test's contribution to an understanding of the child's adjustment might still insure its clinical use were it not for the difficulty of comprehending and carrying out instructions on the part of the child subject for whom the content is suitable.

The personality test which has had perhaps the widest use in clinics reporting results of personality research in delinquency is the Woodworth Psychoneurotic Inventory. Forms suitable for use with children have been devised by Mathews, Cady, and Brown. This inventory consists of questions based on symptoms associated with psychopathic trends It has been used in the study of the personality of delinquents on the assumption that, since delinquency is frequently the result of failure to make satisfactory life-adjustments, a questionnaire capable of differentiating between children who by other criteria are rated as superior or inferior in emotional stability might contribute to an understanding of emotional factors in delinquent behavior. The diagnostic value of this inventory, which was used in our X County Clinic, will be discussed in Chapter X.

Similar in form to the Woodworth questionnaire and its modifications, but differing in content and scoring categories, are the Bernreuter Personality Inventory [14] and the

[14] Robert G Bernreuter, *The personality inventory.* Stanford University, California· Stanford University Press, 1931

Bell Adjustment Inventory.[15] Both have been used in the study of the personality of delinquents. The Bernreuter test, while constructed mainly for adults, is usable also for young people of high-school age. The Bell Inventory was devised for and has been used primarily to measure the adjustments of adolescents.[16] Bernreuter scores are expressed in terms of the traits which the test purports to measure. For example, persons scoring high on the items contributing to the measure of neurotic tendency tend to be emotionally unstable, whereas a low score indicates a tendency to be "well adjusted to life." In addition to neurotic tendency, the test yields scores on self-sufficiency, introversion-extroversion, and dominance-submission.

Scores on the Bell Inventory, instead of being evaluated in terms of the personality traits measured, are oriented to a clinical standpoint in that they present a measure of personal adequacy in areas crucial for adjustment. The test yields scores on social, emotional, health, and home adjustments. Home adjustment is assessed by such questions as:

Do you think your parents fail to recognize that you are a mature person and hence treat you as if you were still a child?	Yes	No	?
Did you ever have a strong desire to run away from home?	Yes	No	?

For determining the extent to which an individual is emotionally maladjusted such questions as these are used:

Do you often feel lonesome, even when you are with people?	Yes	No	?
Do you often feel self-conscious because of your personal appearance?	Yes	No	?
Are your feelings easily hurt?	Yes	No	?

[15] Hugh M Bell, *The adjustment inventory* Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1934

[16] There is now available a form for adults

The Bernreuter test has been used to study young adults in industrial schools and reformatories. The Bell Inventory has been given regularly to boys and girls aged fourteen or older at our X County Clinic.

Scores on these scales are often of less value to the clinician than are incidental indications that are clues to the "areas of tension" that we noted above. The fact that one boy, walled off from emotional contacts to protect himself from further hurts, made such heavy black rings that his pencil cut through the paper around the "yes" following the above question concerning self-consciousness over personal appearance, furnished an important clue to his inferiority attitudes which formed an important aspect of his failures of adjustment. Often such an incident serves as an opening wedge to a child who cannot talk about his sensitivities.

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory [17] is proving to be an increasingly useful technique for understanding a number of important aspects of the personality from attitudes toward physical condition to the morale and social attitudes of the individual tested. The inventory is suitable for administration to any co-operative subject who is sixteen years of age or older. Instead of the usual printed test booklet which lists the questions making up the inventory, the Multiphasic Inventory makes use of separate cards on each of which is printed in simple language a statement which the subject taking the test is asked to classify as either *true* or *false* by placing the card in the appropriate category. A third category is provided for use in case the subject is in doubt and feels that he *cannot say.* The inventory comprises 550 statements varying in diagnostic significance from such items as

[17] Starke R Hathaway and J Charnley McKinley, *The Minnesota multiphasic personality inventory* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1943, distributed by the Psychological Corporation

I liked school
While in trains, busses, etc., I often talk to strangers
I am a good mixer
I have difficulty in starting to do things

to items like

I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be
I deserve punishment for my sins
My soul sometimes leaves my body
I feel uneasy indoors
I have never seen a vision

The inventory yields scores on such personality characteristics as hypochondriasis, depression, hysteria, psychopathic personality, masculinity-femininity, paranoia, psychasthenia, schizophrenia, and hypomania. For our purpose, the fact that the Multiphasic Inventory shows delinquents to be significantly differentiated from non-delinquents on the Psychopathic Deviate Scale is an important finding.[18] Capwell found that on this scale, which is described by the makers of the inventory as characterizing "persons whose main difficulty lies in their absence of deep emotional response, their inability to profit from experience and their disregard of social mores," [19] the mean score of a group of institutionalized delinquent girls was beyond the range of normal persons and that, with the single exception of the Hysteria Scale, all eight scales served to differentiate the delinquent from the non-delinquent control group.

Likewise, in the same study Capwell found that the Washburne Social Adjustment Inventory [20] served to differentiate

[18] Dora F Capwell, Personality patterns of adolescent girls. II. Delinquents and non-delinquents *J appl Psychol*, 1945, **29**, 289–297.

[19] Hathaway and McKinley, *op cit*, p 5

[20] J N Washburne, *Social adjustment inventory*. Yonkers-World Book Company, 1938. See also J. N. Washburne, A test of social adjustment *J. appl Psychol*, 1938, pp. 125–144

her two groups, whereas the Pressey Interest-Attitude, Terman-Miles Attitude-Interest Test, and Vineland Social Maturity Scale did not. The Washburne Inventory, described as a test of social and emotional adjustment, attempts to differentiate in personality traits between adjusted and maladjusted persons.

The use of Pressey's Interest-Attitude Tests represents still another attempt to measure delinquent personality.[21] The four tests that make up this questionnaire consist of a measure of attitudes toward things considered wrong, of anxieties, fears and worries, of likes and interests, and of the kinds of people liked or admired. Pressey found that with increasing age the attitudes of children toward things they considered wrong changed, so too with their anxieties, fears, and worries, with their likes and interests, and with the kinds of people they admired. These developmental changes in attitudes and interests are expressed in test scores on emotional maturity. Increases in emotional maturity are found on the test from age eight up to age nineteen. Delinquents have been found to be emotionally retarded when compared with non-delinquents.[22]

An ingenious effort to disguise the purpose of the test, thus securing a more revealing response, is Zucker's story-completion method.[23] He had his subjects finish three short stories, each about a paragraph in length. The following

[21] S L. Pressey and L. C Pressey, *Interest-attitude tests.* New York: Psychological Corporation, 1933

[22] M A Durea, Personality characteristics of juvenile delinquents *Child Develm.*, 1937, **8**, 115–128, 257–262, The emotional maturity of juvenile delinquents *J. abnorm. soc Psychol*, 1937, **31**, 472–481, Personality characteristics of juvenile offenders in relation to degree of delinquency. *J genet Psychol.*, 1938, **52**, 269–283, The differential diagnosis of potential delinquency *Amer. J Orthopsychiat.*, 1939, **9**, 394–398, Personality characteristics and degree of delinquency. *J soc. Psychol.*, 1941, **13**, 329–330, 341–349

[23] Herbert Zucker, The emotional attachment of children to their parents as related to standards of behavior and delinquency. *J Psychol*, 1943, **15**, 31–40

was, of the three stories, the one which served best to differentiate his delinquent from his non-delinquent subjects.

> Jimmy walked silently up the steps of his home with the officer just behind him. After they rang the bell, Jimmy's father answered and was astonished to see Jimmy with a policeman. The policeman said, "Mr. Horn, I've caught your boy stealing. This is the last time I'll warn you. Next time I'll take him into court." After the policeman left Mr. Horn sat down with his son and talked to him for a long time. He showed him how wrong stealing is and what trouble it can bring. He said no man ever gets away with that sort of stuff and asked Jimmy never to steal again. Jimmy answered that he'd never steal again. Two weeks later Jimmy and his friend were walking down the street and . . .

Of the twenty-five delinquents who are reported to have taken the test, nineteen said that what happened next was a stealing episode whereas only one of the twenty-five non-delinquents thought so. We shall see later how the interpretation of the conduct of others with whom the child identifies has important bearing on the understanding of his own needs.[24] Especially where the subject is free to interpret a situation in any way he wishes is he apt to reveal his own ways of thinking and feeling.

Tests of the performance type, where the child's conduct in a given situation constitutes his record, have been used extensively to study such supposed "character traits" as honesty, trustworthiness, helpfulness, inhibition, and persistence. To test deceptiveness, for example, this technique offers the child an opportunity to cheat and scores him in accordance with whether or not he takes advantage of the chance thus offered to increase his score by looking at the answer sheet, peeping, or taking some other advantage. One of the test

[24] See projective techniques, page 41

items used by Cady in his scale for the estimation of juvenile incorrigibility was described by him as a test of trustworthiness.[25] Each subject is given a sheet like the one we have reproduced as Figure 1. It is then explained that the task is

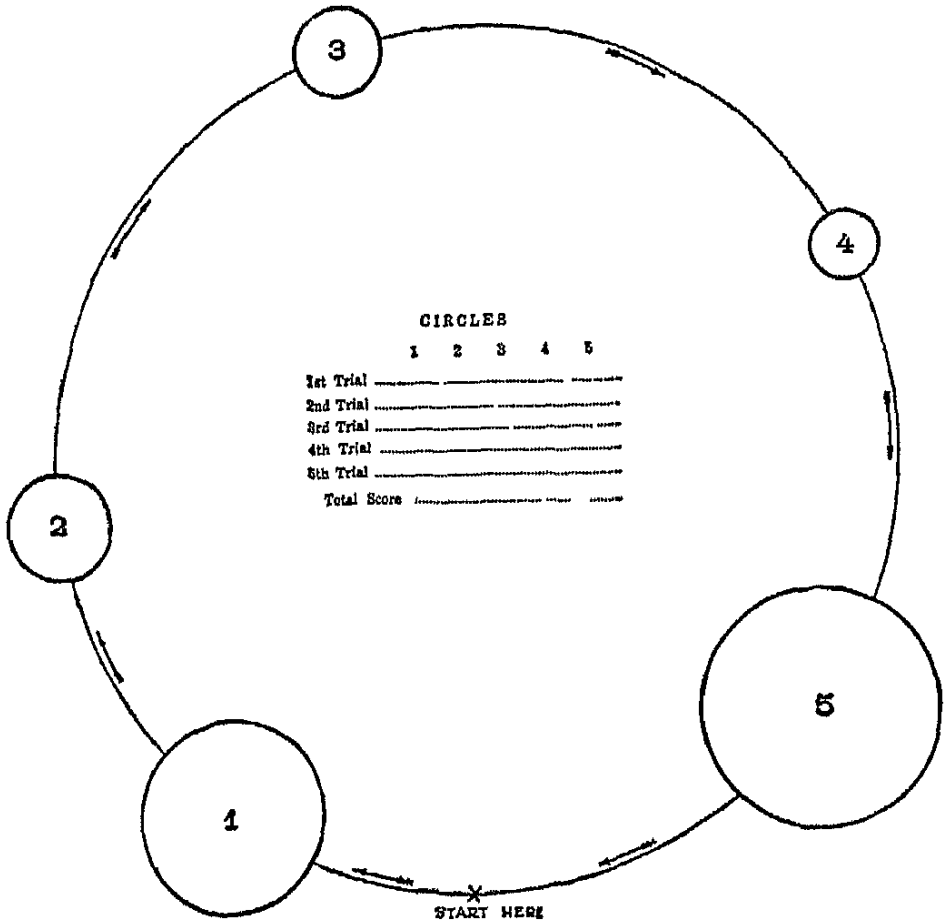


FIGURE 1

to shut your eyes and try to make a cross in each circle. The test is for group use, and motivation to succeed in the task is stimulated by social pressures. After each of the five trials, a count is made of the number of crosses successfully placed, and group competition is further stimulated by having the

[25] V. C. Cady, The estimation of juvenile incorrigibility. *J. Delinq. Monogr.* 2, 1923. This technique was devised by Voelker in 1921. See account by P. M. Symonds in *Diagnosing personality and conduct*. New York: Appleton, 1931, pp. 303–318.

scores announced. Of course the chances of obtaining a perfect score without peeping are infinitesimal. This "improbable achievement" technique is only one of many variants of the tests of cheating, but will serve to illustrate the performance test method.

The attempt to measure conduct directly [26] by securing an actual record of honest conduct, persistent conduct, helpful conduct, and the like led immediately to efforts to determine whether such measures of conduct served to differentiate between public-school children and children who, on the basis of stealing behavior, lying, and other evidences of untrustworthiness, had been classified as delinquents. Indeed, the items included in the various performance tests of character were selected on the basis of their ability to discriminate between children who, according to other criteria, exhibited high and low degrees of the trait in question. Both Cady [27] and Raubenheimer [28] were concerned to secure footrules to conduct, tests of moral instability that should serve to predict delinquent behavior.

But the performance tests did not give us the answers. Why? Take, for example, the attempts to measure honesty. Hundreds of children were studied. They were presented with many different situations in which they had opportunities to be dishonest — to change their scores on a test, to take small amounts of money, to cheat at games, to lie about their cheating. But there was found to be very little relationship between the scores on dishonesty where dishonesty was measured in terms of stealing pennies and dishonesty

[26] The outstanding contribution to the measurement of character is the exhaustive three-volume experimental work of Hartshorne and May Volume I, *Studies in deceit*, gives an account of the tests developed in the course of their Character Education Inquiry See H Hartshorne and M. A May, *Studies in deceit* New York Macmillan, 1928

[27] *Op cit*

[28] A S Raubenheimer, An experimental study of some behavior traits of the potentially delinquent boy *Psychol Monogr*, 1925, 34, no. 6

measured in terms of lying about your cheating – and so on with the various performance tests involving honesty. Which means that there was found to be little tendency for children to be consistently either honest or dishonest in their conduct in the various situations in which *different ways* of being dishonest were involved.

Does this mean that conduct is not to be taken to be an expression of traits which characterize the person? That conduct is not understandable in terms of personality characteristics? The evidence from the attempts to measure character by means of performance tests has been taken to mean this. Hartshorne and May believed that their studies in the nature of character indicated that conduct is specific to the situation in which it occurs, that honesty, for example, or dishonesty "is not a unified trait in children . . . but a series of specific responses to specific situations." [29] They would say that a child steals pennies not because he is a dishonest child (i.e., has such a personality trait), but because he has acquired the habit of stealing pennies and that we have no reason to expect that because he steals pennies he will steal watermelons or will lie about it.

If children do not behave consistently with respect to honest and dishonest behavior, must we conclude, as do those who agree with Hartshorne and May, that there are no general traits, but only specific habits, and must we draw the conclusion that trying to understand behavior in terms of personal characteristics is futile? The behavior of our Eagle Scout who broke into the warehouse and stole candy was inconsistent when explained from the standpoint of the trait of honesty, but from the standpoint of other more stable, better organized traits of his personality – his desire to maintain status, to prove by his exploits that he is a reg-

[29] Hartshorne and May report that the correlations between cheating in one situation and cheating in another range from – 004 to +.561. *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

ular fellow — his conduct is perfectly consistent. As Allport points out, had the makers of our character tests been better child psychologists, they would not have looked for consistency in moral qualities in children, an area of the developing child personality where one would not expect to find a high degree of personal integration.[30] However, if we think of behavior in terms of its relation to the springs of action, to a child's needs, we find a high degree of consistency. Henry steals cars because he has to be a big shot, he is full of *bravado* and his ego needs are fed by the power and show of driving at high speed, Jim is haunted by his gnawing *sense of inferiority* and his car stealing gives him status and opportunity to confer social benefits on his companions; Jack has an insatiable *yen for mechanics,* he loves to putter with engines, and he steals cars to dismantle and reassemble them. Of course, these are not the only factors involved in the behavior, but the point seems clear that the conduct in each instance is strongly indicative of important personality traits of the individual.

Personality tests as tools for the clinician have disappointingly little to offer toward an understanding of the delinquent. In the first place, as fact-finding devices they are undependable — we are not sure that they measure what they purport to measure or that they reveal in the individual case existing personal traits which they were devised to test. Tommy, for example, whose personal emotional adjustment by all subsequent behavior criteria was completely unsatisfactory, made a score on the Woodworth-Cady Psychoneurotic Inventory that rated him in the top 10 per cent in emotional stability. Then, too, these tests constitute no diagnostic guides. Suppose it is revealed that delinquents differ

[30] The reader will find in Allport's discussion of the doctrine of specificity an excellent critique of the Hartshorne-May position and an exposition of the theory of traits. See Gordon W. Allport, *Personality, a psychological interpretation.* New York Holt, 1937, pp. 248–258.

significantly from non-delinquents in their admiration for handsome, husky, well-dressed, good-looking people, or that, on the basis of these and other differences in likes, interests, anxieties, fears, and worries, delinquents are emotionally retarded,[31] we still are not sure from the test what causal relationships are involved between delinquency and the trait in question. As diagnostic guides in the individual case, the personality tests available are of meager value since they often miss important factors and bring out others that are either unimportant or obvious. However, as we noted above, as indicators of areas of sensitivity or media of expression for verbally inhibited adolescents and checks on subjective judgment they have a place among the juvenile court psychologist's clinical tools.

By means of personality tests delinquents have been found to differ from non-delinquents in these ways: [32]

1. In emotional stability as measured by symptoms associated with psychopathic trends;
2. In emotional maturity as measured by
   a kinds of persons liked and admired,
   b. anxieties, fears, and worries,
   c. things considered wrong,
   d. likes and interests;

[31] M. A. Durea, Personality characteristics of juvenile delinquents *Child Developm*, 1937, **8**, 115–128; 257–262. Also The emotional maturity of juvenile delinquents. *J abnorm soc Psychol*, 1937, **31**, 472–481.

[32] A note of caution should be added in regard to the interpretation of differences between delinquent and non-delinquent groups It is possible that a group of delinquents may differ to a statistically significant extent from a non-delinquent group with which it is compared and that we may correctly conclude that the likelihood that the difference might occur by chance is so small that we are confident that it is a true difference Nevertheless, the trait may not be at all characteristic of the delinquents. For example, if I am comparing 200 delinquent boys with 200 non-delinquent boys with respect to deceptiveness as measured by cheating on a test, I find that only 15 per cent of the non-delinquent boys cheated, whereas 25 per cent of the delinquents did The difference is significant, so we can say that more of the delinquents cheated on our test. But we have not shown that cheating is characteristic of delinquents. Seventy-five per cent of our delinquents did not cheat at all.

3. In social and emotional traits thought to characterize the psychopathic personality;
4. In social adjustment measured by responses to questions interpreted as indicating
   a interest in people,
   b. sympathy,
   c. poise,
   d. self-control,
   e. desire oriented to a goal;
5. In personal attitudes as measured by
   a. self-criticism,
   b. criticism of the average boy,
   c. feeling of being different from the average,
   d. feeling of superiority,
   e. social insight;
6. In problem behavior as rated by others on
   a. intellectual traits,
   b. physical traits,
   c. social traits,
   d. emotional traits;
7. In honesty as measured by amount of cheating on performance tests of deceptiveness.

Projective techniques

Among the most dramatic of the clinician's new devices for personality evaluation are the projective techniques. They may be pictures, they may be dolls, they may be meaningless figures like ink blots, they may be any one of a number of plastic materials such as modeling clay or finger paints. The essential thing about the medium, be it material or test situation, is that it be relatively *unstructured*. Projective techniques have in common the use of unstructured material or test situations. Material is unstructured for me when my response to it is not pretty largely predetermined by the arrangement of the material itself; in other words,

when I am free from limitations imposed by the stimulus situation and can organize it as I wish.

The difference between a structured test situation and

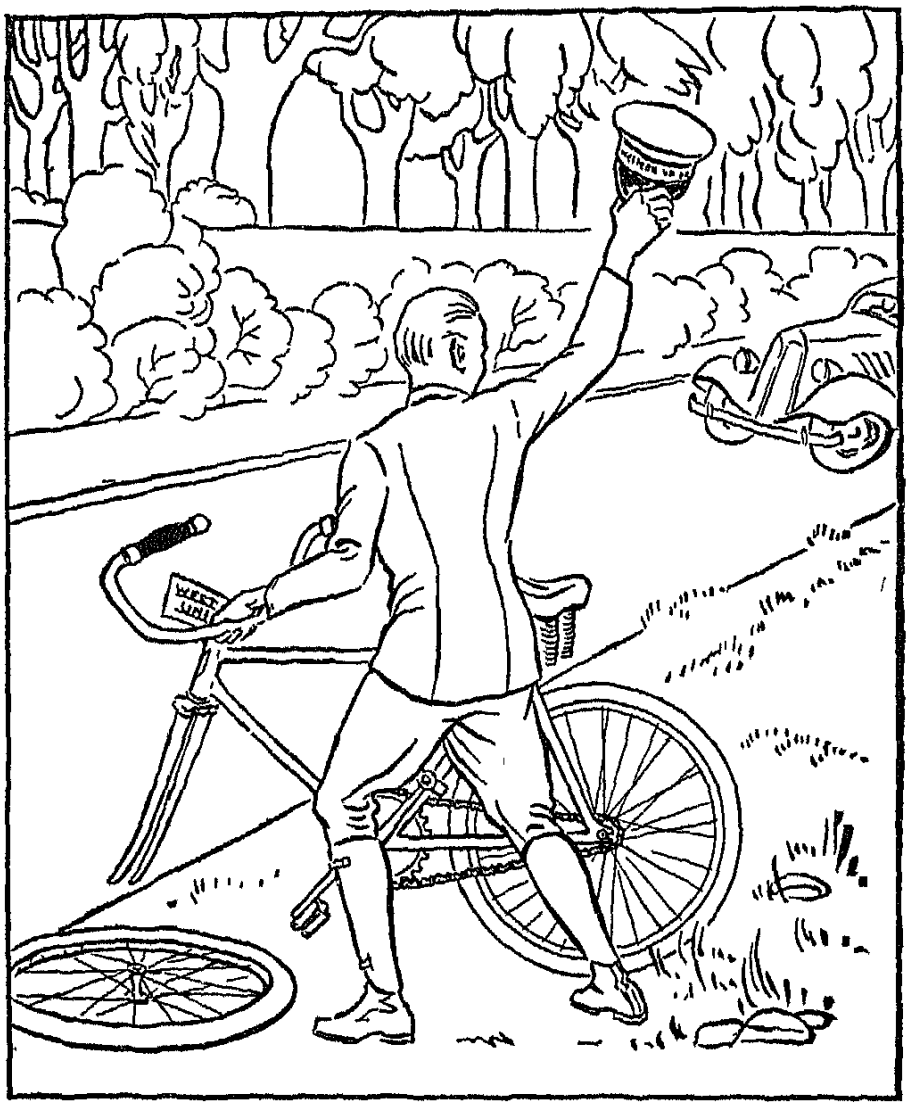


FIGURE 2

one that is unstructured may be illustrated by contrasting responses to two pictures. In the one case, the pictorial situation is highly structured and the subject's response predetermined by the interrelationship of the parts of the picture. To the other relatively unstructured picture the responses vary widely with what, in any individual case, the subject

sees in the picture. My structured picture is the Messenger Boy from the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale (Fig. 2). The usual response of people who are asked to tell about this picture is to point out that a messenger boy has been delivering a telegram when his bicycle broke down,



FIGURE 3

Reprinted by permission of the publishers from Henry A. Murray — (THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943.

hindering the accomplishment of his errand, and that he is asking a passing motorist for help in delivering his message. My unstructured picture is from Murray's Thematic Apperception Test (Fig. 3)

One of my adolescent, delinquent girls sees in it a young woman, who had fallen in love with her sister's husband, listening to the crafty counsel of a wicked old woman who is offering her a love potion; another sees in it a girl who wishes she loved her mother, but she doesn't; to another the lady is a criminal who is haunted by the old aunt whom she has killed; to still another it is the specter of age haunting youth with the threat of loss of personal beauty and physical charm. It is to each her own "private world" of meanings.

This "private world" which is glimpsed in the child's fashioning of the plastic material before him reveals his personality in many important ways. The meager, anxious little boy before me has had nothing but bland replies to all interview approaches, but he is absorbed now with toy cars and miniature, real-people dolls in a long involved tale of stealing and shooting and wild escapes. Do we know from this glimpse into his private world that he is a boy who steals? Not at all Perhaps his conduct is as circumspect as the most exacting parent could demand. Perhaps his needs for aggression are all given expression on a fantasy level and that fact accounts for his adjusting as well as he does to the exacting demands of a repressive home environment. There are no rule-of-thumb ways of scoring projective tests, no stencils that give the right answers for clinical assistants to tabulate. They are tools for experts because their meanings must be interpreted in connection with, and as a part of, the total personality.

It is because they are techniques which at their best reveal in action the individual's ways of selecting and organ-

izing experience, *his* meanings, *his* areas of sensitivity, and the ways *he* has found to protect his vulnerable points that the projective methods have so much promise for the study of the personality of the child and of the delinquent. "The most important things about an individual are," as Murray has pointed out, "the things he cannot or will not say." But give him an unstructured situation to manipulate, material which is "malleable to human need," and that which he ascribes to an objective, external world will reveal, in significant ways, patterns of personality, feelings, and attitudes which he does not recognize as being of inner origin. He thus *projects* his private world upon an unstructured external medium.

To David, a tense, anxious little fellow who has from infancy had to struggle just to stay alive in a world whose demands have always exceeded his frail strength, the silhouette of a human figure seen against a bright window is a man who is going to commit suicide — "probably he didn't want to be in the world any more, the world was just too tough for him." This is the third picture in each of which David has found anxiety and death and he turns to the psychologist with the anxious query, "Why are they all about death?" This is projection.

There are three projective techniques which have already had wide clinical use and for which standards and norms for interpretation have been accumulating. These are the Rorschach Test, Murray's Thematic Apperception Test, and the various play techniques.

Of the three, the Rorschach presents the least structured stimulus material. Its ten ink-blot pictures have no objective meaning to restrict or control the subject's response. The Rorschach method of personality diagnosis aims to reveal the individual's personality structure. L. K. Frank describes its essential character as a projective method in the following passage:

> The Rorschach method offers a procedure through which the individual is induced to reveal his "private world" by telling what he "sees" in the several cards upon which he may project his meanings, significance, and feelings, just because they are not socially standardized objects or situations to which he must give culturally prescribed responses. The Rorschach method is essentially a procedure for revealing the personality of the individual, as contrasted with rating or assessing him in terms of his likeness or conformity to social norms of action and speech. It is just because a subject is not aware of what he is telling and has no cultural norms behind which to hide himself, that the Rorschach and other projective methods are so revealing.[33]

The interpretation of Rorschach responses is a problem of evaluating the patterns of interrelationships presented in the individual case between the various scoring elements.[34] The main difficulties and also the main values lie in the fact that no two patterns are alike. The Rorschach interpreter is concerned with *where* his subject sees his meanings, *how* he sees them, and *what* he sees. Where he sees them is the location category. If the blot might be a butterfly, is it the whole blot that looks to him like a butterfly or only a small portion of it? Does he deal with generalities or is he concerned with details? How he sees them is determined from the characteristic of the blot that contributes most to its meaning for the subject. For example, if he sees it as a butterfly it may be the form of the blot alone that determines his response or it may be partly form and partly the color that makes him see it that way. Does he tend to be dominated by recognized ways of doing things or is he impulsive, responsive to the emotional qualities, and what kind of

[33] L. K Frank, Projective methods in the study of personality. *J. Psychol.*, 1939, 8, 389–413.

[34] Bruno Klopfer and Douglas M. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique.* Yonkers: World Book Company, 1942.

balance does he maintain between intellect and emotion? So the interpreter in answering the question *how* looks mainly to the form, color, movement, and shading determinants. What the subject sees is a less important consideration, but contributes to an understanding of a fourth category which is concerned with his tendency to see ordinary things in the blots (popular responses) or unusual (original responses). One must have some meanings in common with his fellows to be able to get along in the thousands of ways required in our social adjustments to each other.

These are only some of the aspects that go to make up the personality pattern or structure that the Rorschach interpreter sees in his subject's responses after he has classified them according to the schemata which have been developed for scoring. There are also taken into account the number of responses, whether the subject resists and rejects any of the cards, whether he uses a rigid order of description in his responses, whether he hesitates a long time before responding, and — most important of all — what pattern of response these things make. How are they proportioned and balanced?

As yet there have been few American studies of delinquents reported. Beck found in a group of children studied in a behavior clinic that the delinquents of the group showed evidence of inadequate personality development and were suffering from anxiety attitudes.[35] Klopfer and Kelley[36] quote the results of a German investigator[37] who believed he had found a response pattern that was characteristic of juvenile thieves, and make the following significant comment on the study:

[35] S J Beck, Introduction to the Rorschach method. *Res. Monogr. Amer. Orthopsychiat. Assn*, 1937, No. 1.

[36] *Op cit*, pp 403–404.

[37] H. Zulliger, *Jugendliche Diebs im Rorschach-Formdeutversuche.* Bern: Haupt, 1938.

> This syndrome, according to Zulliger, is fairly representative of juvenile thieves. Obviously, however, it cannot be considered as such, since at best this syndrome can only be concluded to represent a personality pattern of a person who has been a thief. If the same results were found in the study of another subject, one could not, from the Rorschach record alone, conclude that the individual being studied actually was a thief. Furthermore, studies by Kelley and Flicker on juvenile thieves contradict these findings. These workers, like Beck, found that juvenile thieves and other juvenile delinquents show a variety of Rorschach patterns which are similar only in that they are not as a rule normal.[38]

The most encouraging thing about the Rorschach method for use in the study of delinquents is that its most competent proponents consider its value for the purpose to lie in its revealing, not a behavior pattern, but an underlying structure of personality which is related to behavior only in that it makes behavior understandable.

> . . . a person with such-and-such a personality structure showing signs of maladjustment and disturbance may be likely to steal, or be a homosexual, or have phobias.[39]

The Thematic Apperception Test [40] has not so long a history as the Rorschach Test and approaches the problem of personality study from a different standpoint. Whereas the Rorschach method reveals the structure of personality, the Thematic Apperception Test, the TAT, "is a method of revealing to the trained interpreter some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes, and conflicts of a

[38] Klopfer and Kelley, *loc cit*

[39] Bruno Klopfer, Personality aspects revealed by the Rorschach method *Rorschach Res Exchange*, 1940, 4, 26–29

[40] Reprinted by permission of the publishers from Henry A Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test*, Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1943.

personality." [41] It is concerned, thus, with the dynamics of personality in terms of the predominant needs of the person and his strivings to satisfy those needs in the face of the limitations and demands of his environment As Murray points out:

> Special value resides in its power to expose the underlying inhibited tendencies which the subject, or patient, is not willing to admit, or can not admit because he is unconscious of them [41]

Its usefulness for the study of delinquents has not yet been explored. Its promise from the standpoint of our own experience with it will be discussed in a later chapter.

The TAT is a story-telling test. It is so presented to children.

> I have some pictures here that I am going to show you, and for each picture I want you to make up a story. Tell what has happened before and what is happening now. Say what the people are feeling and thinking and how it will come out. You can make up any kind of story you please.[42]

Scoring techniques are neither so rigid nor so esoteric as the Rorschach system. Analysis of each story seeks to determine the character with whom the story teller has identified himself, whose point of view was adopted and who plays the leading role. What does this hero think and feel and do? What difficulties and trials does he encounter? "Does the hero make things happen or do things happen to him?" And what is the outcome? Does he conquer or is he conquered? This is, indeed, material to the hand of the student of human motivation and conflict.

The various play techniques have in common the use of an unstructured field for the child to organize according to his needs manifested in play activities. Dolls and house-

[41] *Ibid.*, p 1. [42] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

keeping toys, toy animals, blocks, clay, drawing, and painting have all been found to be appropriate material for projecting his world The play field has for a child none of the restrictions of the world of reality, that is, he is free from the bounds of the things he cannot do because he is too little or too weak or because he cannot express his wishes or make people understand. He is free, too, from the conflicts between his needs and the cultural demands of the adult world. The world of play in which his own life is represented is also his fantasy world. Thus:

> The play field approximates the dynamics of unreality . . . in the changeableness of the meaning of things and of the child's own person (playing roles), which goes far beyond what is possible in the level of reality.[43]

It is understandable, then, how through this medium a child inevitably reveals his significant conflicts, the situations and personal relations that are highly charged emotionally. The play situation is, then, of outstanding importance to the clinician in understanding the inarticulate problems of children.

> Whatever other role play may have in the child's development . . . the child also uses it to make up for defeats, sufferings, and frustrations, especially those resulting from a technically and culturally limited use of language.[44]

This whole field of the play techniques is virgin territory for understanding delinquents. I am convinced, however, that it has important possibilities in the realm of dramatic play with real-people puppet dolls for *dramatis personae*

[43] Reprinted by permission from *A dynamic theory of personality* by Kurt Lewin. Copyrighted, 1935, by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., p 106

[44] Reprinted by permission from Clinical studies in childhood play by Erik Homburger Erikson, in *Child behavior and development* R. Barker, J S Kounin, and H F. Wright (Eds.). Copyrighted, 1943, by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., p 426

and the situations and action on the miniature stage created by the inhibited and inarticulate young delinquent. Some of these possibilities we shall explore in a later chapter.

We should not leave the discussion of projective techniques, fascinating as they are for the study of the dynamics of personality, without a further word of caution with regard to the requirements of what Macfarlane has called "methodological respectability."[45] How are we to know that these bright new tools that promise so much are any more than a new kind of mental divining rod? Is projective methodology a kind of clinical astrology? Have we found an extra-sensory way of perceiving personality? By their very nature as "total-action" pictures and devices that expose the subconscious springs of action, they are peculiarly difficult to evaluate by the ordinary statistical criteria. Hertz, in discussing the problem in relation to the Rorschach method, describes it as a problem of "how to study a synthesis rather than a conglomeration of isolated parts." We must know, when we use these techniques, that other persons with the necessary skill would get the same results. We need evidence of consistency in the personality patterns revealed. One of the checks on consistency is the ability to predict human conduct on the basis of personality patterns. The application of such criteria of scientific acceptability for projective techniques has presented such methodological difficulties that the laboratory scientist would still be skeptical of the results obtained by their use. On the other hand, the clinician has long been aware of the fact that a total person, a real child in a life-situation, eludes any analysis by the inventory methods of questionnaire, rating scale, and

[45] For an excellent discussion of this problem in relation to clinical methods in general, see Jean Macfarlane, Methodology of data collection and organization *Monogr Soc. Res. Child Developm*, 1935, 3, Ser. no. 19 The application of statistical criteria more specifically to projective methods is discussed by Macfarlane in an article on Problems of validation inherent in projective methods *Amer J Orthopsychiat*, 1942, 12, 405–411.

laboratory experiment. If he pleads, in defense of his tools, that his clinical practice is more of an art than a science, he is still concerned to prove his tools in the scientist's crucibles of statistical analysis and experimental verification Data that satisfy the statistician as well as the clinician are in process of accumulation for the projective techniques. Evidences of through-time consistencies are accumulated only through time.

Intelligence tests

Because there are so many important non-intellectual factors that contribute to maladaptive behavior, it has become the current mode to discount the contribution of intelligence tests to an understanding of personality and of behavior. This is due in part to a protest reaction against the overemphasis on testing and the indiscriminate use of the results of intelligence tests to try to solve all sorts of problems which tests were never intended to solve. So teachers complained against the I.Q. because Johnny, with an I.Q. of 100, was not doing satisfactory work in school, that Mary, with an I.Q. of 80, was doing better work than Johnny in the same grade, and Jane was an habitual truant and doing failing work in spite of her 140 I.Q. The teacher did not take account of several non-intellectual factors that are important in the functioning of intelligence in school and other achievements. She did not take account of the threat to John's prestige offered by the presence in the same grade of his younger sister who always got good marks and was held up to John as a model of behavior, that Mary with her habits of industry was getting the maximum of satisfaction out of work that was just within her abilities, and that Jane was bored and so uninterested in work which was too easy for her that she turned to predelinquent interests and activities. The functioning of intelligence is influenced by emotional

factors, but our intelligence tests do not measure emotional factors any more than they measure industry, interest in school work, or conscientiousness.

Intelligence must always be evaluated in the frame of reference of the total personality with its distresses, its frustrations, and its defeats. It may be a crucial factor in adjustment. In problems involving delinquency, intelligence is often such a factor. It was important in the case of Susan.

Susan is fourteen, the adopted child of professional parents. An older brother and sister, also adopted, had gone on to college and entered the professional field easily and pretty much as a matter of course. It is taken for granted that Susan's goals will be the goals of a 120-I.Q. environment. Susan's I.Q. is 95. In comparison with young people her age, Susan is average. But she attends junior high in the Lakewood district, where most of the young people come from homes of her lawyer father's business associates. She hates school, where she does failing work in a slow section. She is often truant in the company of a Negro girl whom she dominates both personally and socially, but "the nice girls" from her own social group have little to do with her. When she can escape from the maternal supervision, she "goes out" with a truck driver. Though her family are wealthy and she has an ample allowance, she has been involved in several stealing episodes. Susan's average I.Q. is an important factor in that frame of reference.

Intelligence tests appraise the intellectual ability of a given individual by comparison of his performance on an extended series of tasks with the standards of performance of the same tasks by normal children of the various age levels. Success in the tasks demands the exercise of intelligence. Each individual task consists essentially of a problem situation to be solved. There are many of them and they involve many different kinds of problem situations.

Some of them present digits to be remembered and repeated, others present problems of comparison, others test comprehension, power to combine ideas into a meaningful whole, ability to define words, etc. Each test presents a problem to be solved. In each, the child must keep in mind the end to be attained, must try different solutions under the influence of this directing idea, and must appraise the adequacy of each trial solution to meet the requirements of the task.

Each child is given tasks which are suitable in range and difficulty for his age and ability level. The tasks are not so hard for him that he feels discouraged, nor so easy that he does not need to try. And there is always the incentive of the problem to be solved, whether it be the game of putting together two triangular cards to make one like a third which is rectangular or pointing out in what way a penny and a quarter are alike and how they are different. The tasks, in scales of the Binet type, are arranged at suitable difficulty stages from infant to adult levels. A child's score on the test is expressed in terms of the age level which his score approximates. If, for example, he succeeds in tasks that are, on the average, successfully performed by normal six-year-old children, his mental age score is said to be six years. This is like expressing his height in feet or inches on a yardstick. The significance of being six years old mentally, or three feet in height, lies in whether you are mentally tall for your age or mentally short, overgrown, or a dwarf. If we know that our mental six-year-old is aged twelve, then we know at once how bright he is, and express it as a ratio between his mental age score, 6, and his life age, 12 (6/12 = .50, usually expressed as a whole number, 50). This measure of brightness is the intelligence quotient, or I.Q.[46]

[46] We know, as a result of testing large numbers of people of all ages, that approximately half of them will have I Q 's between 90 and 110 where these I Q.'s

We have been far more successful in measuring intelligence than we have been in measuring other aspects of personality. One of the main reasons for this difference has been this matter of incentive or motivation The intelligence test problems are self-motivated. There is a solution to work out, and everybody, whether he is a child or a grown-up, likes to solve problems. But in a personality test there are no right answers. You say what you think or what you think you ought to think about yourself and wonder whether that is what the examiner wants.

Then, too, one can sample intellectual abilities the way the engineer sinks shafts to enable him to evaluate the vein of ore below the surface. We can determine how consistent our measures are and to what extent they agree with other criteria of the same ability. These scientific checks on the

are determined on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale by competent examiners. The distribution of I Q 's and the classificatory terms in common use are indicated in the following table, which shows the number of persons in each I Q category for the standardization group ages 2–18.

I Q	N	Per cent		Classifications
160–169	1	0 03		
150–159	6	0 2	1 33	Very superior
140–149	32	1 1		
130–139	89	3 1		
120–129	239	8 2	11 3	Superior
110–119	524	18 1		High average
100–109	685	23 5		
90– 99	667	23 0	46.5	Normal or average
80– 89	422	14 5		Low average
70– 79	164	5 6		Borderline defective
60– 69	57	2 0		
50– 59	12	0 4	2.63	Mentally defective
40– 49	6	0 2		
30– 39	1	0 03		

From Maud A. Merrill, The significance of I.Q 's on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale *J. educ. Psychol*, 1938, **29**, 641–651.

validity and reliability of intelligence tests have been reported many times.[47]

There have been many attempts to assess the intellectual level of delinquents. These will be considered in connection with our discussion of the intelligence level of our unselected sample of delinquents. The important thing to point out here is that in any *individual case* the intelligence level is important in reference to the personal-social background of the person. An I Q. of 95 may be just as truly an index of mental retardation as an I.Q. of 70 in another frame of reference.

> People of low intelligence, but not too low, may or may not be able to manage their affairs with ordinary prudence. It depends in part on many nonintellectual factors, such as environment, training, emotional balance, health, looks, economic conditions, etc.[48]

The procedures discussed in this chapter are only a few samples of the tools which constitute some of the resources of the clinician in understanding delinquent behavior. Many other "fact-gathering facilities" contribute. The social case history, for example, a tool of the social worker, is one of the most indispensable aids to understanding the social backgrounds against which delinquent behavior develops. Tests are tools and, as Rogers points out in discussing the function of personality tests in diagnosis,

> rank with all the other fact-finding facilities with which the clinician surrounds himself, with the tools of social investigation, the tools of medical examination, the tools of in-

[47] See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the measurement of intelligence of delinquents For the scale most widely used with children, the Stanford-Binet, see Lewis M. Terman and Maud A Merrill, *Measuring intelligence.* Boston· Houghton Mifflin, 1937.

[48] Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 649.

telligence measurement, the techniques of interviewing . . . [Diagnosis demands] the judgment and ability to see facts in their significant relationships and to recognize the areas where treatment is indicated.[49]

[49] Carl R Rogers, *The clinical treatment of the problem child*, p. 26.

3

SOCIAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE

FUNDAMENTAL to an understanding of delinquent behavior is the ability to see the delinquent child in a social frame of reference. He is a member of a family group, he attends school, he plays with other children, he develops interests in the opposite sex — from the moment of birth he is expected to respond in increasingly complex ways to an increasingly complex social environment whether that environment offers opportunities for the easy satisfaction of his needs for security and growth or imposes barriers to socially approved satisfactions. He is one too many in an already overburdened family group or his family is destitute, lacking the necessities of life; and of these two, because of the loss of status which goes with it, destitution is perhaps of even greater importance in our culture than the primary hunger needs. He does not bring his social values with him when he is born. These he must acquire through contact with his environment. His attitudes, the things he loves and the things he hates, are determined through contacts with that environment, in response to what is expected of him.

Of such importance is this obvious fact that, since hundreds of significant environmental determinants have been found to be concomitants of delinquency, it is hardly surprising that such factors have, by many investigators, been

assigned not only *a* causal role but *the* causal role in delinquent behavior. Current views tend to substantiate the findings of the pioneer investigators with respect to the prevalence of certain kinds of environmental factors in the life-histories of delinquents. We find a Boston psychiatrist and specialist in children's problems pointing out that the most important of the underlying causes of asocial behavior are environmental and sociological factors.[1] We find Shaw, McKay, and others [2] reaffirming their earlier findings, after twenty years of research in twenty-one American cities, that delinquency is highly correlated with social disorganization — changes in population, inadequate housing, poverty, the pressure of certain minority groups, tuberculosis, and adult crime. We find a sociologist who believes, on statistical grounds, that delinquency has its roots in "frustrations that occur in the lower and middle classes." [3]

We shall see that our X County delinquents do not differ in essential ways from other groups of delinquents with respect to enumerable socio-economic factors, but we shall see also that, in the individual living case — in a real child in a real life-situation — the interaction of environmental pressures and personal needs determines individual responses and that an analysis which takes account of such interaction is the only analysis that does not distort the picture of causal relationships in delinquent behavior.

There are more bad influences in the families of delinquent children than there are in the families of their non-delinquent neighbors, there are more broken homes; the families of delinquent siblings are larger; there are more de-

[1] D A. Thom, Sociological changes predisposing toward juvenile delinquency. *Amer J Psychiat*, 1944, **100**, 452–455.

[2] C R Shaw, H D McKay, and others, *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas* Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1942

[3] W. C Kvaraceus, Juvenile delinquency and social class. *J. educ. Sociol.*, 1944, **18**, 51–54.

linquents who come from poor homes and from the homes of the non-professional occupational groups; there are more school misfits. But why do *some* children in these environments grow from unsocial infants to socialized adults? Why are not *all* children who grow up under conditions of frustration unsocialized adults? Even in the same family there are delinquent children with non-delinquent brothers and sisters. The difficulty of appraising "the influence of the family in the causation of delinquent behavior is complicated," as Reckless points out, "by the fact that any given family situation is not the same situation for the siblings living in it." Reckless adds that:

> It seems reasonable to suspect that the family of the delinquent child may be found to be a much more strife-ridden family than that of the non-delinquent child, even when the non-delinquent is a member of the same family.[4]

The contrast between delinquent and non-delinquent siblings in the same home is brought out by Healy and Bronner in their book, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment.*[5] The delinquent children of their group were characteristically more distressed and disturbed under the ordinary tensions of family life than were their non-delinquent siblings.

One of our X County delinquents is Pietro, who has a sister, Teresa. Pietro, to the complete dismay of his family, has been brought in by the police for stealing. Stealing to Pietro's parents is something done by other people's children — people of inferior status. Of course, Pietro has not been doing very well at school. At the same time that he failed to be promoted, his sister, Teresa, two years younger,

[4] Walter C Reckless, *The etiology of delinquent and criminal behavior.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943 (Bull. 50).
[5] *Op. cit.*

was granted a special promotion which placed her just half a year behind Pietro. Teresa has always fitted into the school program easily and says boastfully at home how easy the work in the advanced grade is for her. Both Pietro and his sister are above average in intelligence. Geographically, they come from the same home; biologically, they have the same two parents; but their psychological environments are entirely different. How can two physically identical environments differ for a brother and sister in the same home which is not the same for both children? Let us see.

Their mother protests earnestly that both children have always been given the same opportunities, they have had everything — toys, books, a pony, dancing lessons — even at the cost of parental sacrifice, and no difference has ever been made in their treatment. Pietro was a strong, well baby, but he developed early and intense conflicts over feeding. His mother fed him by the book and adhered rigidly to an inflexible feeding regime. Though the baby did not seem to fit the schedule, he was made to conform, however much fuss he made. Tensions in the mother's face, a flush and tightening of the jaws, reveal how real even after nearly ten years this struggle with her son is. Teresa, on the contrary, had been sickly and delicate, often ill, and required much special care and attention. The mother's strength in this second pregnancy had been overtaxed and she found it extremely difficult with no help and with frequent illnesses of her own to maintain her standards, nevertheless she persisted. Both children were always fed the right things at the right time. They were always dressed like little dolls when they went out or went to school, blue suits and clean white blouses for Pietro, with little white-topped kid shoes and daily complete changes of underwear. Teresa at seven has overcome her earlier physical handicap and is as well developed as her brother; indeed, one might take her for the elder

of the two. She is as assured in her social contacts as Pietro is reserved. In any social situation, Teresa takes the lead with her tireless activity, her conversational chatter, and her precocious skill in drawing of which she makes an unabashed show. Since her birth, Teresa has never relinquished the center of the stage.

Pietro's conflicts appear to be on the subconscious level. Only bland responses concerning his family relationships are elicited. His play interview reflects the meticulous regimentation of his personal life and the central position of his sister in the family constellation. But into his narrative concerning the dramatic play family — mother and father, older brother and younger sister — creep certain significant deviations from his own external life situation (Fig. 4). The children have separate rooms, Pietro says in explaining his construction, but the boy's isn't shown because there wasn't any room for him there. Also, in his account of the play children, the sister is two years behind her brother in school. Finally, in the end:

> The little girl gets run down by a car and has to stay in the hospital for three months and they have to sell most of the furniture to pay for the operations. Then the father gets a new job and more money. The little girl gets well. He keeps his job and they have a good home, more furniture and live happily ever after.

We know from the social worker's report that the birth of her children interfered with the mother's career as a musician, that at the mother's insistence they sacrificed home and financial advantages in the East to come to California "for Teresa's health." The mother resents her "housewife" status and their present relatively inferior socio-economic position, though her husband is a bank teller with an assured income. Because, subconsciously, she rejects her children, Mrs. S. is

fanatically devoted to their welfare. By this defensive device she prevents the repressed attitude (of emotional rejection), of which she disapproves, from ever coming into consciousness

Psychologically, Pietro lives in a home where he is repressed by parental domination, where he is forced into a mold of compliance with constantly frustrating demands, where his prestige is menaced by the attention-getting behavior of a sister whom he hates but cannot hate, because in our culture one does not hate one's sister. The façade of parental affectionate concern hides conflict and rejection and leaves him insecure. But he is the center of intense parental concern when he steals.

Whereas Teresa, living in the same house, dwells always in an atmosphere of adult approval. But she must always struggle to be best in everything. She must be tops in parental approval, she must be best in her school work; she must be able to draw better than anyone, she must be the dynamic center of her world because she, too, is insecure and responds by inability to brook disapproval.

So it is that our social frames of references are so important and that social behavior can be understood only in relation to the interplay of dynamic factors within the person in relation to his affective environment.

The acquisition of social values must be considered in relation to the environmental factors affecting social development. What are these factors in the case of children who have developed delinquent behavior? Always with the understanding that we are viewing only part of the whole, the frame without the picture that completes it, as it were, let us inquire what these formative social backgrounds reveal in the way of contrasts or likenesses between our X County delinquents and their non-delinquent neighbors.

Orientation

The original three hundred delinquents who were consecutive juvenile court cases were compared with a non-delinquent control group matched for age, sex, and home neighborhood with respect to several environmental factors which constitute our social frames of reference. We have information about the *structure of the home,* about the *economic status of the parents, parental occupations, home relationships* and *family control, recreations, companionships,* and the *use of leisure time.* It will be recalled that in the case of one hundred of our boys, who were first seen in juvenile court in their early adolescence, we have information concerning later development for comparison with similar data concerning one hundred of our original control group. These comparisons between the two follow-up groups of young adults bring out a number of significant social trends.

The average age of our three hundred delinquents as they were seen in the juvenile court was fifteen years.[6] Of these, the hundred who were seen later were, on the average, about twenty years old at the time of the later follow-up contact. But the control group, chosen to match the age of the young delinquents at the time of their appearance in court, would no longer match them for age when both groups were studied five years later. The hundred follow-up cases of the control group were, at the time of the later study, about a year younger than the delinquents. However, we were able to pair eighty of the hundred cases, each delinquent with a non-delinquent of his age, so closely that the average difference in age between delinquents and controls was less than a month. This control of the age factor enabled us to determine with scientific accuracy that differences, for example, in the number regularly employed, were not due to differ-

[6] Cf. Appendix A for the distribution of ages. Table 1

ences in age between the two groups. In these cases they were exactly the same ages.

Our way of determining whether our findings were characteristic of delinquents, and to that extent valid, was to see whether the next two hundred cases appearing before the court would be like our first three hundred, which we shall call the experimental group, with respect to some of the characteristics studied, such as age, nationality, structure of the home, socio-economic status, intelligence, etc. The two groups proved to be essentially alike with respect to all the various factors examined except one. We found no reason to believe that intelligence is related to type of offense.[7] Otherwise, there are no differences that might not occur by chance between two groups of young offenders.

There were about four times as many boys as girls in our experimental group.[8] All juvenile court statistics report more boys than girls, not because girls are any better behaved than boys, but because boys get caught more often than girls, and, even when they do get caught, girls are more frequently just reported to their parents than brought into court, a procedure which seems to reflect the Victorian view that girls are, somehow, less better able to look after themselves in competitive ways outside the home than are boys. Then, too, delinquent boys are more apt to engage in aggressive behavior such as stealing, whereas girls are brought into court for offenses that involve personal relationships — they are ungovernable ("beyond parental control" is the official designation), they commit "sex offenses," they run away from home. It is because of these important sex differences both in delinquent behavior and in the policy of law enforce-

[7] See Chapter 6, "Intelligence of Delinquents"

[8] This ratio of boys to girls is more frequently reported to be about five to one, but that ratio is based on figures for all types of offenses, including traffic violations, whereas, in our group, no clinical study was undertaken in the case of young people referred for a traffic offense only

ment agencies with respect to court referrals of girls as compared with boys, that we have confined our follow-up study to boys.

Structure and atmosphere of the home

Half of our delinquent children come from homes broken by the death of one or both parents or by parental divorce, separation, or desertion, whereas in the control group only about a quarter of the homes are abnormally structured (Table 1). A normally structured or unbroken home is one

TABLE 1* **STRUCTURE OF HOME**

PARENTS	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
Living together	N 144	% 49.3	N 203	% 73.3
Divorced	18	6 2	7	2.5
Divorced and remarried	26	8.9	8	2.9
Separated	22	7.6	8	2.9
Deserted	7	2.4	–	–
Mother dead	15	5.1	16	5.8
Father dead	35	12.0	22	7.9
Both dead	8	2.7	3	1.1
F dead, M remarried	8	2 7	10	3.6
M dead, F remarried	9	3 1	–	–
Sum	292	100.0	277	100.0
Unclassified	8		23	
Total	300		300	
Broken homes		50.7		26 7

*The reader who is interested in the statistical evaluation of the significance of these differences will find these data reported in the appendices. See Appendix A.

in which both parents are living together in the same home with their children. These figures correspond very closely to those reported by other investigators – for example, Burt, the Glueck studies of one thousand delinquents referred to the Judge Baker Guidance Center, Healy and Bronner, and others. The most recent English study, that of Carr-Saun-

ders, Mannheim, and Rhodes, reports a considerably higher percentage of homes of normal structure than do the majority of the American investigators and higher than Burt's earlier figure (57.9 per cent) for a similar English group. The Carr-Saunders investigation reports both parents living as husband and wife in the same home with their children in 68 per cent of the delinquent cases and in 80 per cent of their control group. The Carr-Saunders percentages tend to agree with other figures reported for Great Britain,[9] with the notable exception of Burt's findings. Even if we were to omit from Burt's "defective family relationship" classification the "only child" category, which he includes with death, separation, and divorce, his figures would still be higher than those reported from other British sources.

The fact that the stability of family life has been found to differ for different nationality groups and to decrease with increasing age of the children in the family [10] makes it necessary to examine those factors in our groups to make sure that the higher percentage of broken homes in the delinquent group is not related to some other factor that may account for the difference between the two groups. Age is one of the variables that has been experimentally controlled by our matching technique and therefore cannot exert a differential effect on our comparisons. With respect to the nationality factor the relationships are not so clear. The proportion of children with American-born parents is reliably greater in the control group, and in this group the percentages are approximately those for the county as a whole. The comparative figures for the two groups are given in Table 2. Further analysis of the nationality composition of our two groups reveals not only that there are more families

[9] See the summary of other English investigations in A. M Carr-Saunders, Herman Mannheim, and E C. Rhodes, *Young offenders*, pp. 1–42

[10] See Chapter 1, page 13.

TABLE 2 BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS

	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
Both American-born	N 152	% 54.3	N 165	% 56 5
Both foreign-born	105	37.2	79	27.1
Foreign-American	24	8.5	48	16.4
Total classified	281	100.0	292	100.0
Unclassified	19		8	
Total	300		300	

in the delinquent group in which both parents are foreign-born, but that there are more families of the Latin stocks, especially Spanish and Mexican. The Mexicans, at least those who come into our court with their children, are like the Negroes in some of their personality traits. Childlike, they live in the present. They are full of troubles that in a moment are resolved. They laugh and love, quarrel and forget, dance and make carnival, or sleep in the sun. At least the mobility of their family life resembles that of the Negroes with respect to the ease with which marital relationships are changed or dissolved. It is such differences in cultural background that are reflected in the frequency with which broken homes occur in the Negro and Mexican groups in contrast with the Jewish group, with its traditions of family solidarity. There is only one Negro in our group and only one Jewish child, but among our delinquents a fourth of the children come from homes where both parents are foreign-born and of Latin origin, and in the case of their non-delinquent schoolmates from the same neighborhoods, less than 20 per cent.

In our group, then, we are in doubt as to whether the fact that there are more broken homes in the delinquent group indicates a causal relationship to delinquency or whether it may be due, to an unknown extent, to the factor of nation-

ality differences and a consequence of differences in cultural backgrounds that make for lack of marital stability. It is undoubtedly true that conflicts of culture patterns between foreign-born parents and their American-born children are potent sources for breakdowns in parental control, that delinquent behavior often grows out of the troubled atmosphere of homes where children resent the rigid Old World ways of their parents, and parents understand neither the language nor the ways of their foster land nor the ways of their would-be American children striving to be free by throwing off restraint.

Antone is an American-born son of Polish parents. Antone's home was full of bickering and want. His father was stern and had no patience with the ways of boys. Antone especially exasperated him and he was always mean to Antone in many little unreasonable ways. Antone had little comfort, either, in his relations with his step-mother. There were, in fact, very few legitimate satisfactions for Antone. He stole, he was disobedient, and sometimes he ran away from home. But his father was always right. He might be hard, but he was right. Then one day, in a fit of rage, his father told him to go away and not come back. Antone went and neither persuasion nor his father's threats prevailed upon him to come home. But Antone's father had not meant to drive Antone away from home permanently; at least, he had not meant to deprive himself of the additional income from Antone's pay checks which the father always took as his due from the son. In fact, Antone's earnings constituted a considerable contribution to the family resources. Antone had got in return only what his father grudgingly bought for the boy, and Antone was beginning to want to go out with girls and he liked to have money for movies and other things a fellow does with his friends. Now he had defied his father and he was afraid even to try to get

his clothes from home. Antone had endured his father's tyranny for a long time and even yet he was not very sure that he had been right not to go home again. Antone had always been ruled with an iron hand, but his father's final act of authoritarian domination made even Antone's loyalty falter. "You see," said Antone, "it was my Christmas present, that suit, and he sold it to a second-hand clothes dealer, my Christmas present." Yes, there had been ways in which he wished they had treated him differently. "Till I left home," he said, "I never got a chance to meet people. I couldn't go to dances or shows and I had to make my own spending money and then he took it away from me." And then he added, for his security was threatened by loss of faith in his father's underlying affection for him, "But he didn't want me to be a bum, he wanted me to be somebody."

The atmosphere of the homes, evidences of tensions and strains resulting from unsatisfying human relations and environmental pressures, cannot be evaluated except in terms of the reactions of individuals to specific patterns of relationships and specific environmental conditions. That such tensions exist and are to some extent measurable is evidenced by certain personality test findings. Comparisons between delinquents and controls on the Bell Adjustment Inventory showed significantly better home adjustment scores for the non-delinquent control group (Table 3).[11]

Where it was possible on the basis of case history or interview data, the relationship between parents and children

[11] That the scores on social, emotional, and health adjustments on the same test failed to elicit significant differences where there is other evidence that such differences do exist furnishes an important clue to certain shortcomings of personality tests. In this instance, the home adjustment score taps areas of sensitivity which the subject can admit, whereas the deviations which make up the other scores he either cannot or will not see.

TABLE 3 HOME ADJUSTMENT RATINGS ON BELL INVENTORY

	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
Rating	N	%	N	%
Excellent	4	3.8	20	14.4
Good	33	30.8	42	30.2
Average	33	30 8	47	33 8
Unsatisfactory	21	19 6	24	17 3
Very unsatisfactory	16	15.0	6	4.3
Total	107	100.0	139	100.0

was rated on discipline [12] and affection. These differences, as shown in Figure 5, were, as one would expect, highly significant.

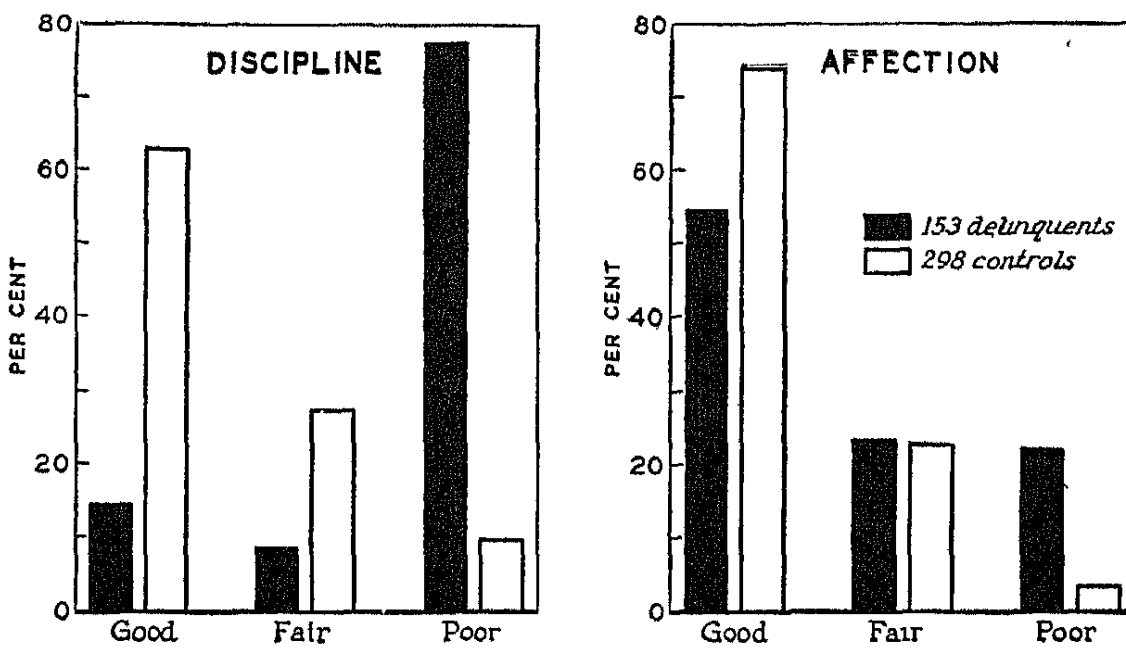


FIGURE 5

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

[12] The Gluecks found that the discipline of the delinquent child by his father and discipline by his mother were among the most significant factors for predicting his post-treatment conduct. See *One thousand juvenile delinquents*, pp 186–187.

Good discipline was defined as control that was firm but not so strict as to cause fear; *fair* discipline was sometimes inconsistent, but generally moderately firm; *poor* discipline was very lax, or extremely rigid, or very erratic. The discipline of Antone's father, for example, was very poor because it was extremely rigid, that of his step-mother was also very poor because she was very erratic — sometimes a torrent of scolding was released by a very minor infraction and again a much more serious episode called forth no comment and no penalty. For affection, a *good* parental relationship was sympathetic and kind; *fair* was not always sympathetic, somewhat indifferent; and *poor* indicated a definitely hostile attitude. The main differences between the two groups, it will be apparent from the figure, were the outstandingly poor discipline in the delinquent group and the fact that relationships of affection were generally good in both groups, but in the delinquent group a significantly greater number of parents were actually hostile toward their children

Other indices to differences between the two groups with respect to the relations between parents and children will be found in the account of our ratings of the various personal, social, and economic factors in the boys' adjustment based on home visits and interviews with the two hundred boys whose later development was traced after a five-year interval.[13] The non-delinquent boys came from more stable homes, their attitudes toward their relationships with their parents with respect to parental discipline and affection were less critical or resentful, and their attitudes toward home, evaluated in terms of home-centered interests and activities, showed significantly greater tendency to find their satisfactions at home. Very few of either group gave any evidence of actual hostility toward either parent, but

[13] See discussion of Adjustment Ratings, page 304, also Appendix F.

the non-delinquent boys evidenced more fondness for their parents. The contrasts between these two groups of boys, expressed in their attitudes toward home and in their fondness for their parents, are shown in Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 4 ATTITUDES TOWARD HOME

	D	C
Very fond of home home-centered interests and activities	17	17
Enjoys home spends leisure time at home and elsewhere	36	64
Indifferent to home seeks entertainment elsewhere	22	12
Prefers not to be at home spends much time away	11	6
Dislikes being at home never at home if he can help it	12	1
Unclassified	2	0
Total	100	100

TABLE 5 FONDNESS FOR PARENTS

	D	C
Fond of both parents — excellent rapport	30	41
No antagonism toward either, but may show preference for one	44	47
Slight hostility toward the non-preferred or both parents	11	9
Hostility toward one parent and marked preference for one; conflicting attitudes toward one or both	11	2
Marked hostility toward both parents	3	0
Unclassified	1	1
Total	100	100

Of course such intangibles as attitudes toward home and fondness for parents are not very easy to appraise objectively, that is, in such a way that someone else who had the same sources of information would make the same appraisal

of the factors or trait rated. We subjected each of our ratings on all of the various factors which we sought to evaluate to statistical checks to see whether there was a reliably high degree of agreement between our ratings. On the factors which we have just been discussing — the stability of the home, attitudes toward home and toward discipline and affection of parents, and ratings on fondness for parents — the degree of agreement between the field worker who interviewed the boys and the psychologist was as high as the agreement between retests on standard tests of intelligence.[14]

A further verification of these conclusions with respect to the character of parent-child relationships comes from the Whittier Scale for rating homes.[15] "Parental supervision," on the scale, is scored on such factors as degree of parental interest exercised, discipline, equality of treatment of siblings, and parental example, the degree of harmony and understanding between parents receives a separate score under the caption "parental condition." Differences between the delinquent and non-delinquent boys of our two groups are very great on all of the scores obtained on this scale and on the total, which is designated the Home Index.

Eloquent testimony to the failure of the home to satisfy some of the adolescents' needs for companionship, recognition, and excitement, that constitute what they call "fun," is found in the responses of our delinquents to one of the questions which seeks to elicit attitudes toward home.

Q. What do you do at home to have a good time?
A. Go out.
Q. Yes, but *at home* what do you do for a good time?
A. Oh, I don't have any fun at home. There is nothing to do.

[14] Reliabilities of ratings in terms of degree of agreement between raters will be found on page 304

[15] J Harold Williams, A guide to the grading of homes *Dept. of Research, Bull. No. 7.* Whittier State School, Dept. of Printing Instruction, 1918

TABLE 6 NUMBER OF SIBLINGS

	DELINQUENT	CONTROL
One	8	20
Two	15	20
Three or more	62	42
Step-siblings	2	–
Step- and own siblings	7	2
Only child	6	16
Total	100	100

Negative replies of this sort characterized the responses of 27 per cent of our young delinquents, as against 8 per cent of the same-age controls.

While the significance of sibling relationships is brought out most clearly in the individual family pattern (as in the case of Pietro and his sister), some interesting comparisons and contrasts are afforded by the number of siblings in the families of our boys whose later development was traced (Table 6). Delinquent boys come from larger families; they are also more likely to be brothers of delinquent siblings than are non-delinquent boys in the same neighborhood. Forty per cent of our delinquent boys have delinquent siblings; 10 per cent of our non-delinquent boys.

TABLE 7 POSITION IN THE FAMILY

	DELINQUENT	CONTROL
Intermediate of four or more	52	23
Intermediate of three	7	10
One of two	9	20
Oldest of three or more	10	5
Youngest of three or more	16	26
Only child	6	16

The position of the boy in the family seems to be significant in our group, though I think the significance lies in the size of the family rather than in the fact that the delinquent is most often intermediate in a family of four or more children (Table 7).

Socio-economic factors

Of all the factors affecting delinquent behavior, the one that has been most frequently emphasized and most frequently assigned as a sole causal factor in delinquency is the economic factor. If delinquents are not born that way, the argument goes, then they are made, and they are made by environmental factors, the most important of which is poverty.

Lack of material goods — poverty — has always been shown to be a striking characteristic of all delinquent groups. Burt points out that, in his London group:

> Over one-half of the total amount of juvenile delinquency is found in homes that are poor or very poor, and the figures show very trenchantly, were figures needed for the purpose, that poverty makes an added spur to dishonesty and wrong.[16]

There is more than twice as much poverty in the homes of Burt's delinquents than in the homes of his control group. Other investigators have found more poverty in the homes of delinquents than in the general population. Glueck and Glueck[17] found among their "juvenile delinquents grown up" marked differences in the economic status of the parents of those delinquents who succeeded during extra-mural treatment and those who failed. Similarly, among the fac-

[16] Reprinted by permission from *The young delinquent* by Cyril Burt. Copyrighted, 1925, by D. Appleton & Company, pp 66–67.

[17] *Juvenile delinquents grown up*, pp. 184–186.

tors predictive of behavior during a fifteen-year span after treatment of their young delinquents is the economic status of the parents.[18]

The economic status of the parents of our two groups of young people was rated on the basis used by the Gluecks in their surveys of after-treatment adjustment of delinquents and criminals (Table 8). *Comfortable* status means that the family has resources to maintain itself for from four to six months if the income ceased. *Marginal* status characterizes the family that lives on daily earnings but accumulates nothing. *Dependent* status means that the family requires support continuously.

TABLE 8 **ECONOMIC STATUS**

	DELINQUENT		CONTROL	
Comfortable	N 33	% 11.5	N 93	% 31.5
Marginal	188	65.8	151	51.2
Dependent	65	22.7	51	17.3
Sum	286	100.0	295	100.0
Unclassified	14		5	
Total	300		300	

In view of the fact that our delinquents and non-delinquents are neighbors, the marked differences in economic status are all the more striking. Since the control cases came from the same neighborhoods and schools, it constitutes an additional check on the validity of our matching technique that the Whittier Neighborhood Ratings[19] for the two groups showed no significant differences between the groups with respect to such factors as neatness, recreational facilities, in-

[18] *Criminal careers in retrospect*, p 207

[19] Willis W. Clark and J. Harold Williams, A guide to the grading of neighborhoods. *Dept of Research, Bull. No. 8*, Whittier State School, Dept. of Printing Instruction, 1919

stitutions and establishments, whereas, when the groups are compared as to social status of residents and average quality of homes in the same neighborhoods, a real difference immediately appears. Twenty-eight homes in a hundred were better than most of the homes in the same neighborhood in the control, only six in a hundred in the delinquent, whereas in this group thirty-five in a hundred were worse than most of the homes in the neighborhood as against ten in a hundred in the control group. When the financial adequacy of the parents is taken into consideration the difference is very striking indeed. But whether these economic factors have any relationship to the boys' successful adjustment is another problem. These relationships will be analyzed in a later chapter.

The majority of our delinquents — two-thirds of them — come from the economically marginal group, as against half of the non-delinquents, and there are fewer comfortable homes in the delinquent group and more economically dependent homes. Further light on the cultural backgrounds of these homes may be gained from a consideration of the occupational status of the fathers. In order to objectify the evaluation of such status, we have used the Minnesota Scale for Occupational Rating to classify occupations of fathers in both groups (Table 9).[20] Group I includes high professional and executive occupations; Group II, semi-professional and managerial occupations and large businesses; Group III, clerical occupations, skilled trades, and retail businesses; Group IV, farming; Group V, semi-skilled occupations, minor clerical positions, and minor businesses; Group VI, slightly skilled trades and other occupations requiring little training or ability, and Group VII, unskilled occupations.

[20] F L Goodenough and J E. Anderson, *Experimental child psychology*. New York. Century, 1931. Appendix A.

TABLE 9 OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	DELINQUENT		CONTROL		EMPLOYED MALES IN U.S.
	N	%	N	%	
I Professional	4	1.5	8	3 0	3.1
II Semi-professional and managerial	9	3 5	23	8 7	5 2
III Clerical, skilled trades, and retail business	49	19.1	56	21.2	15.0
IV Rural owners	8	3.1	24	9.1	15.3
V Semi-skilled, minor clerical and business	48	18 7	69	26 1	30.6
VI Slightly skilled	38	14 8	20	7.6	11 3
VII Unskilled	101	39 3	64	24.3	19 5
Sum	257	100 0	264	100 0	100 0
Unclassified	43		36		
Total	300		300		

The most striking differences between our two groups are to be found in the lowest occupational groups. The two lowest categories, slightly skilled and unskilled occupations, include more than half of the delinquents' fathers. The occupational distribution of control fathers differs from that of employed males in the United States, for the nearest census period, chiefly in the smaller percentage of farmers. There are in the two lowest occupational classifications for these groups approximately the same percentages, though the proportion of unskilled is somewhat greater in our control group.

Of course, contrasts in occupational classifications give us only part of the picture. The important thing is the way the individual reacts to his socio-economic background. Frustration and intolerable humiliations are sometimes imposed by poverty and by jobs of low prestige value, and again the very same external conditions are accepted with

the contentment of complete freedom from responsibility. Some of our delinquents come from homes where they "don't want no job" because they've "got a quarter."

Manuel came from such a home. Manuel is friendly, with a soft, pleasant voice and no cares. In Manuel's home there is a good deal of family solidarity and contentment. When I first knew Manuel and his family his father was content to be unemployed, his mother was content to work in the cannery to support the family, and Manuel was content with the easy assurance that some day when he grew up he was going to be a "working man." That was five years ago Manuel is still the same carefree, happy person. His ambition to be a workingman has flowered at seventeen into being a professional golf caddy. His mother and two older brothers support the family. And his father? "My father," Manuel reports, "has retired. He is too old to work, now. You know he used to be with the W.P.A." So our clinic records show that, formerly "unemployed," Manuel's father is now "retired." And Manuel caddies, he says with pride, at the Riverside Country Club. But what else does he do? What does he like to do best of all? "Well," he hesitates and then, in a rare moment of genuine insight, sums up his social goals: "I like best of all to play the guitar and I like to make love and fight."

Poverty and low social status are important only in relation to what they mean to the individual. From another home of equally low socio-economic status are Clyde and his brother Gene. But Clyde and his brother, unlike Manuel, have never found happiness in their world — they are anxiety-ridden, restless, and never content. Life has been unfair to them and nothing that anyone can do ever changes that fact for them. Our acquaintance began when two forlorn little fellows were brought in by the police for stealing from the neighborhood grocery store. Gene was the elder by a

year, but it is hard to remember that because he has never been as large as his brother. Undersized, Gene was also undernourished and an extremely nervous little fellow with facial twitches, a shoulder and arm that jerked involuntarily, and he could never sit still. Clyde was not so undernourished as Gene, but was a moody, sensitive boy. He cried easily, and could not face censure, expressed or even implied, and he was never to blame. He felt insecure and unloved, said the boys at school picked on him and called him names that he hated. Even then, at the age of ten, Clyde was smarting under the injustice of his lot. Other boys had better homes, their fathers had better jobs; they could have things Clyde and his brother could not have; and their folks were not beaten by life. Rebelling against his home and its limitations, yet he has always clung to it and is still dominated by the need to be dependent. Both boys were dominated by emotion; both craved affection and understanding, but could accept neither. With very superior intelligence, neither boy was interested in school nor was either doing more than barely passing work. At home the situation was dispiriting. The father never made a satisfactory living for his family, but his family would have fared even worse on the income that Manuel's family took in their stride and thrived on. When Clyde's father worked, it was at housecleaning jobs that Clyde and his brother were ashamed of. Resenting the necessity and the implications of "charity," the family complained bitterly about the amount and character of the aid given them by the county. Health conditions were perilous. The mother was found to have active tuberculosis, and Gene's undernourished condition threatened to develop into the same disease. The parents were listless and indifferent. The school and welfare department complained that they were "unco-operative." Keeping the house clean and looking after the children was too heavy

a burden for the always-tired mother, but she and her husband could forget about it all when they had had enough alcohol to deaden their sensibilities.

This seems to be what the social worker would call an "open-and-shut case." Of course, the mother would have to be hospitalized. To be built up physically and rehabilitated with respect to health and living habits was imperative for Gene and a necessity for Clyde. It seemed as though a carefully chosen foster home with competent medical supervision would serve the needs of both boys for readjustment. In consultation with the boys themselves, placements were arranged and school programs adjusted But no foster home, however adequate, was ever acceptable to either boy. Four were tried and each proved to have characteristics that were displeasing in various personal ways, especially to Clyde. He grew increasingly self-centered. Never sure of himself, he developed arrogant, intolerant ways. His demands were endless. Why couldn't they go home? They did not want to live with strangers anyway. Other boys had homes of their own, why couldn't they?

In spite of the fact that Clyde especially craved a relationship of emotional dependence upon an adult, a mother substitute, it was decided that the impersonal environment of a Catholic boarding school would offer less threat to the boys and be less socially frustrating than the more personal atmosphere of a home not their own, where their dissatisfaction with their social status was only accentuated. The mother is back at home, but is in no condition of health or strength to cope with the problems presented by her sons. The ineffectual father has given up struggling with his family problems and deserted. The boys are now fifteen and sixteen. In their institutional environment they have both responded more favorably than in the foster-home situation. But both feel cheated. Neither one has ever been able to

achieve the social status that he feels is his right. Clyde is still a very sensitive adolescent. Easily upset emotionally, he covers his sensitivity with an assumed air of cynicism and indifference. He is self-centered, continually overcompensating for his feelings of social insecurity, blames his bad fortunes on others, and, in spite of superior ability, makes no effort to achieve a better status.

A more detailed analysis of occupational classifications, occupational trends, and employment status was made for our young adult groups, both for occupations of fathers and occupations of the boys themselves, who by this time were entering business and industry. Since in these comparisons age differences have an important effect on such factors as occupational trends and employment, we shall include the findings for our matched age groups, of whom there were eighty pairs.

Some of the chief differences between the two follow-up groups with respect to the occupation of the father in the home, whether he is the boy's own father, his step-father, or adoptive father, may be summarized as follows:[21]

> In the delinquent group there are more fathers in the unskilled labor classification and there are more families in which there is no father in the home. (The proportion of fatherless homes is greater than when those same cases were first contacted, which agrees with the Chicago data of Shaw and McKay that the number of broken homes increases with the age of the children studied.)
>
> When the higher occupational ratings, classifications I, II, and III, are compared with the lower ratings V, VI, and VII, the fathers of the control group are approximately equally divided between the two (35 to 39), whereas fathers of the delinquents have nearly three times as many lower occupational classifications, 15 to 44.

[21] For detailed comparisons see Appendix C, Table 2.

In each group, the father's previous occupation (at first clinic contact) was compared with his occupation five years later. Though the differences are not statistically significant, it is important to note that the trends indicated are in the expected direction; i.e., more fathers in the delinquent group drop from a higher to a lower classification and more control fathers remain stable or go from a lower to a higher occupational classification.

The usual occupation of the boy's own father, whether in the home, separated, or his previous occupation if deceased, shows the same trend in occupational classification as the above comparison. The control fathers in groups I, II, and III versus the control fathers in groups V, VI, and VII are 43 to 49; the delinquent fathers in groups I, II, and III versus the delinquent fathers in groups V, VI, and VII are 23 to 68.

Comparisons between parental employment [22] figures for the two groups yield some significant contrasts:

In the homes of the delinquents there are more than twice as many instances where neither parent is employed and more than twice as many where the mother only is employed. Where the father only is employed, as one would expect, the control homes far exceed the delinquent. There are very few homes in either group in which both parents are employed with the difference slightly favoring the controls.

Groups matched for age at the time of the follow-up study (eighty pairs) were compared to determine whether age differences might affect the occupational and employment trends. The differences found were all in the same direction and served only to magnify rather than to reduce the differences already summarized above.

Comparisons between the boys themselves on occupa-

[22] See Appendix C.

tional ratings and employment are especially interesting in spite of the fact that both groups are still too young to have gained much status in these respects (Table 10).

TABLE 10 OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT OF *100 DELINQUENT AND 100 CONTROL BOYS*

Mean age of delinquents, 19½
Mean age of controls, 18½

	D	C
A. Present employment *status*·		
30 delinquents are in school, 70 out		
69 controls are in school, 31 out		
1. More delinquents are *employed*	52	27
2. Controls have more *regular employment*	28 (54%)	20 (74%)
3. More delinquents are "*out of work*"	14	4
4 More controls are *still in school*	36	69
5. Of the students, more controls have *part time jobs*	8 (27%)	33 (48%)
B. Character of employment· occupational rating		
There are occupational ratings on 64 delinquents and 31 controls		
4 delinquents are incarcerated		
2 delinquents, occupation unknown		
1 Occupational ratings of both delinquents and controls fall chiefly in the lower occupational groups V, VI, VII	55	24
2. Delinquents have lower occupational ratings than controls	(86%)	(77%)

Differences favor the controls in the number not yet employed, in regularity of employment of those who are working, and in occupational ratings of those employed. Here, however, account must be taken of the fact that this control group includes more of the younger boys than does the delinquent group. This age difference we would expect to favor the occupational ratings of the delinquent group, since with increasing age one would expect higher occupational ratings and more regular employment. Eighty of the cases,

it will be recalled, could be matched exactly for age. Where age is thus held constant, the differences are in the same direction and of slightly greater magnitude (Table 11).

TABLE 11 **OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT OF *EIGHTY MATCHED PAIRS***

	D	C
A. Present *employment status*		
27 delinquents are in school, 53 out		
52 controls are in school, 28 out		
1 More delinquents are *employed*	40	25
2. Controls have more *regular employment*	22 (55%)	20 (80%)
3. More delinquents are "*out of work*"	9	3
4 More controls are *still in school*	27 (34%)	52 (65%)
B Character of employment occupational rating		
There are occupational ratings on 47 delinquents and 28 controls		
1. Occupations of both delinquents and controls are in lower occupational groups V, VI, VII	41	21
2. Delinquents rate lower than controls	(87%)	(78%)

Mobility

That the delinquent group comes from the less stable portion of the community is already apparent from the facts that we have reviewed in connection with the extent to which family life changes — marriages are dissolved by death or separation and remarriages take place — and the changes in occupational classifications. Another indication of this social instability is the frequency of changes in residence either to new communities or to other addresses in the same community. This shifting character or mobility of the delinquent group was impressively demonstrated in our search for the boys of our group in the follow-up period of the study. Only a third of the original three hundred were still living in X County or in the neighboring counties and,

of those still living in the county, numerous changes of address made it especially difficult to locate the families.

Comparisons of our follow-up groups on permanence of residence [23] indicate very striking differences between the two. More than half of the non-delinquent boys have always lived in the same place, whereas the majority of the delinquents (74 per cent) have moved at least once from one town to another or from the East to the West Coast. Here again we need to take into account the age difference between the two groups. The delinquents are on the average a year older than the controls and would thus have had more time to move around. Where the comparisons between the two groups are confined to those eighty pairs which were matched for age, the differences are only slightly reduced; they are still significantly different with respect to the mobility of the two groups.

Families which in themselves are unstable with impermanent family ties and relationships, both between parents and between parents and children, are in no condition to offer any sense of security to the children of the household. If, in addition to this impermanence of relationship within the family, there is also an impermanence of relationship to the community, stabilizing influences within the child's life are still further threatened. If a family moves often it never becomes identified with a community, never feels any sense of belonging, of having a part in community interests and responsibilities. That these social patterns and attitudes are passed on to the children is the outstanding evidence of such studies as those on delinquency areas and those sociological studies of communities that have directed attention to the fact that excessive mobility is accompanied by increased delinquency.[24] Moves from neighborhood to neighborhood,

[23] See page 313, Table 41.

[24] R. D McKenzie, The neighborhood: a study of local life in the city of Columbus, Ohio. *Amer J Sociol.*, 1921–22, 27, p 166

and from city to city, seriously disrupt a child's adjustments, not only in his social relationships to his neighborhood companions, but in his school life, both socially and academically.

It is not surprising, then, to discover marked differences between our boys in the extent to which each feels himself a part of the community and identifies with his locality. Nearly a half of the delinquents are either indifferent, prefer to live somewhere else, or strongly dislike their community. The non-delinquents from these same communities are more apt to be enthusiastically identified with their town, or at least to have a feeling of belonging, of being an integral part of the community. Elimination of age differences between the two groups serves but to sharpen the contrasts.

Leisure time activities

One of the important things to know about boys and girls is what they do for a good time, what they do just because they want to and not because they have to. There are a great many frustrating things that happen to children who are in the process of growing up and learning to adjust to an adult world They have to conform to adult customs with respect to not throwing things when they are angry, not eating with their fingers, not behaving like a tomboy, not hitting the child who took their engine — and so on through all our cultural limitations on a child's ways. There are many more frustrating things that happen in the lives of children who develop delinquent behavior. Play activities, especially in the younger years, but also in adolescence, games and recreations, serve an important compensatory function for some of these thwarted motives of children. In the world of play where one can do as one pleases, the conditions imposed by reality can be changed readily by the child. Mary has no doll with real hair and eyes that open and shut, but

she dresses up a piece of wood and plays with it until she converts the stick into a barrier to corral her make-believe wild horses. In play, children can be as powerful as adults. "Let's play house and I'll be the mother." "Let's play war and I'll be General Eisenhower."

And sometimes play serves to release tensions that arise in conflict situations. In Pietro's play family, the boy's little sister was run over by a car and seriously hurt. In the world of things-as-they-really-are, Pietro's sister was intolerably smug and superior and was a constant menace to his pride and self-feeling. In this same world of reality, he cannot accept his own wishes against her and they are repressed, but leave him uneasy and a prey to guilt feelings. In the world of "things as one would like them to be," aggressive impulses can be released without guilt. In Pietro's case, the conflict was very deeply rooted and even in play he could not accept an unhappy ending for his sister's mishap.

It is easy to see that play which serves the child as a substitute for lack of real adventure may easily shade into delinquency. Indeed, many of the escapades which land their youthful participants in the juvenile court can best be understood in the light of what we know about the dynamics of play.[25]

In an effort to determine what children who come into juvenile court do in their leisure time, what they do at home for a good time and what they like to do, the children were questioned about their leisure time activities. Figure 6 presents a classification of responses obtained during the interview with the psychologist at the time of the child's first clinic contact.

[25] An exposition of what may be called a compensatory theory of play will be found in Curti's *Child psychology*. New York: Longmans Green, 1930, pp 348–359; also E. S. Robinson, The compensatory function of make-believe play, *Psychol. Rev.*, 1920, **27**, pp 429–439. Lewin discusses the dynamics of play in *A dynamic theory of personality*, pp. 105–106. See also Sybille Escalona, Play and substitute satisfaction, in *Child behavior and development*, pp. 363–378

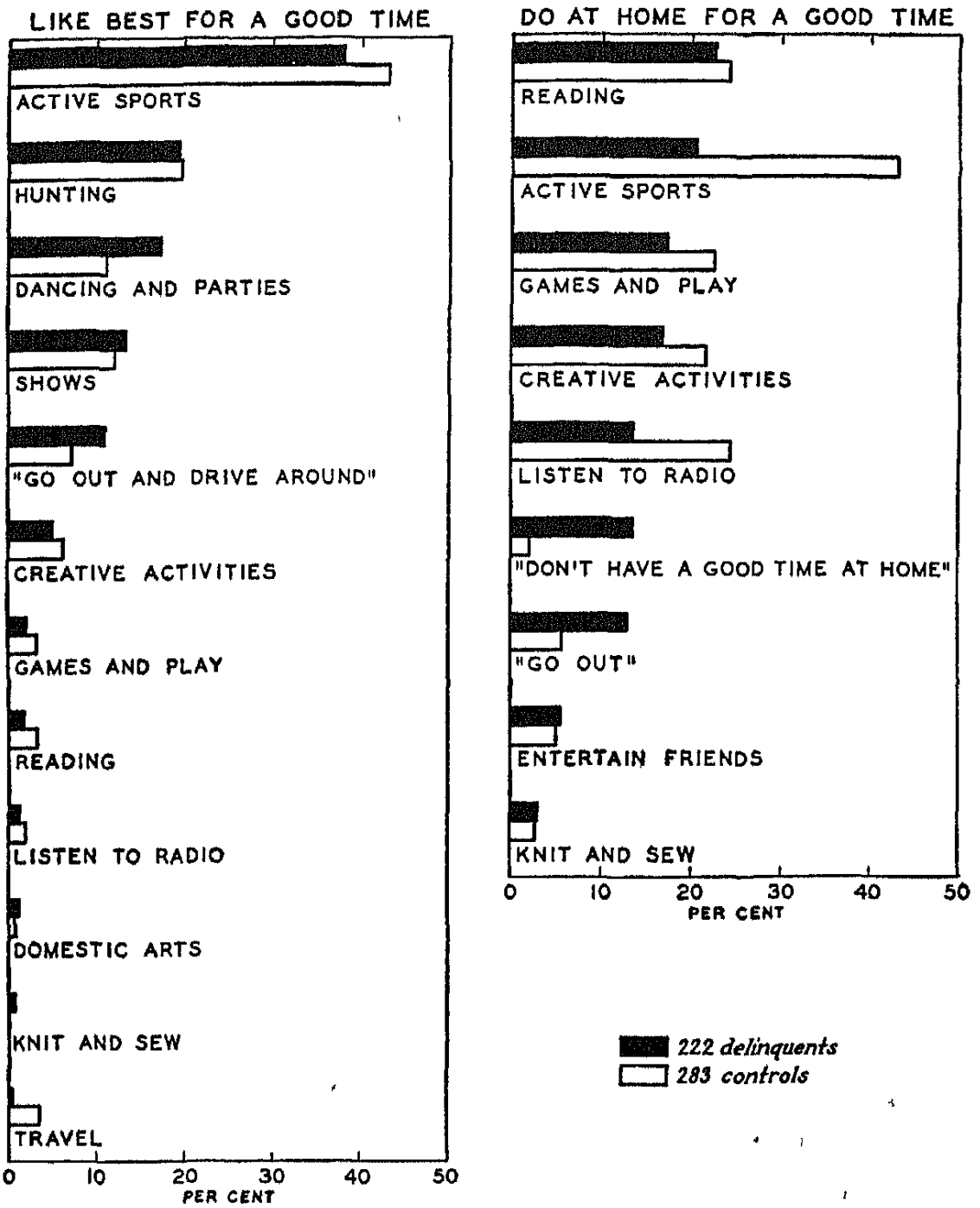


FIGURE 6

RECREATIONS

One of the most outstanding differences between the two groups is the extent to which the young delinquents lack resources for satisfactory recreational outlets at home. "There is nothing at home to do to have a good time." "What

can you do at home for a good time?" "What do I do *at home* for a good time? Why, nothing. I just walk around to make time pass." And again, "I don't have a good time at home — they don't get along with me at home."

In another very striking respect the delinquents are different from their non-delinquent neighbors. Though both groups like active sports best, the non-delinquents have twice as much opportunity for active sports at home.

When we ask what these young people like best for a good time we find that the groups are pretty much alike. What differences there are may be due to chance factors, but it is interesting to note that the social interests — dancing, having friends in, going out with the crowd, and driving around — are expressed more frequently by the delinquents than by the controls. Again and again I find both delinquents and controls expressing the urge "to be on the go," "to drive around and see things," "to have a car and drive around," but here again the delinquents do so with greater frequency. Individual responses to this question of these socially maladjusted ones are often very revealing. One boy said, "I don't like good times. I go to dances, but I just sit."

Both delinquents and non-delinquents go to the movies, but more of the delinquents are perennials. The outstanding difference between our two groups consists, not in whether they go to movies or not, but in the frequency of their attendance.[26] The delinquents attend more than once a week to a significantly greater extent than do the non-delinquent controls. The attitude of one boy is not atypical. He assured me sadly that he could not go to the movies very often, and, upon being pressed to say just how often, explained that he was allowed to go only three times a week.

In contrasting our two groups with respect to the similar-

[26] Cf. Chapter 9, p. 258.

ities and differences in their recreational activities, it is important to remember that both groups come from the same neighborhoods. Both have access to the same community playgrounds, swimming pools, roller rinks, and movies, but they come from homes that differ in more important ways than size, neatness, and physical necessities.

We have some information concerning the extent to which our young adult groups are interested in recreation in connection with their participation in group activities and there are ratings on their use of leisure. As young adults, the boys of the non-delinquent group exhibit more interest in organized group activities, whether these activities are primarily recreational or have some civic or political objective. Two-thirds of the delinquents have no interest in such group activities. In response to questioning concerning what clubs or other organization the boy had ever belonged to, it was found that 45 per cent of the delinquent boys had never belonged to any club, while this was true of 23 per cent of the control boys (Table 12). Use of leisure was rated at the time of our follow-up and will be further considered in connection with a discussion of the boys' behavioral adjustment.

TABLE 12 MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS*

ORGANIZATION	DELINQUENT	CONTROL
Boy Scouts	12	20
Church clubs	18	22
Fraternal	10	22
Labor unions	–	5
Other organizations	26	49
Member of club or organization	54	77
Never belonged to any organization	45	23
Unknown	1	–

*The total is greater than the total number of boys who have been members of organizations because some of the boys have belonged to more than one organization

A fourth of the boys who had been delinquent were making poor or very poor use of their leisure as against one only in the control group. Rated as good or excellent were 78 per cent of the controls and 46 per cent of the delinquents.

Children learn to conform to social norms first through contacts with their families. Families are made up of people of different ages with different needs and conflicting goals. Parents need to exercise authority; children need to be independent, but at the same time to be secure. Parents have tried things out themselves and "know best"; children need to learn by doing, to make mistakes if need be. So there are inevitable clashes between youth and age in family groups.

There are in the family, too, social and emotional factors, as well as economic factors that complicate the process of growing up. There are tensions between parents, conflicts of authority, marital discord, and other emotional conditions that vastly complicate the process of satisfying the child's needs for affectional security and growing independence.

There are more unfavorable social factors in the homes of delinquents than in the homes of non-delinquent children and greater economic insecurity, but the fact that unfavorable environmental circumstances exist does not account for the development of delinquent behavior. Habits and attitudes involved in delinquent behavior are a

> product of growth and development, a process of summation, which has its origin in the *process of interaction between the individual and the situation to which he is responsive.*[27]

Thus the psychological and the social environments are not the same for delinquent and non-delinquent children in the

[27] Shaw and McKay, Social factors in juvenile delinquency, *op cit*, p 347.

same neighborhood, even in the same home. Answers to problems of behavior must be sought in the "interaction between the individual" and *his* social frame of reference, "the situation to which he is responsive."

★ 4 ★

"TOWARD SCHOOL WITH HEAVY LOOKS"

GEORGE didn't like anything at school. He "didn't learn nothin'," he says and explains with his usual braggadocio, "I knew more than the teachers and figgered I could learn more from people outside."

Wilmer's [1] troubles at school are not primarily scholastic. He is forever defying authority to be defiant and to be beheld. He is rude; he hits smaller boys; he is always breaking up the games with complaints and quarrels.

Paul [2] is characterized by his teachers as a "discipline problem" because he is constantly engaging in activities that upset the order of the classroom. In spite of the fact that he is described by these same teachers as "nervous and fidgety," in spite of the fact that he "bites his nails" and "cannot sit still" — he is treated at school for his misbehavior.

Harry [3] at twelve is a "problem child" at school. He is a nonconformist in the classroom — if the class is to write a composition Harry wants to read, if they are to go out to the playground Harry wants to stay inside — no matter what the situation Harry's prestige depends upon the attention-getting value of nonconformist behavior.

[1] Cf. pages 195–197. [2] Cf. pages 278–284 [3] Cf. pages 199–203.

Mickey's[4] teachers say that "he won't work," that "he does not pay attention and idles away his time." Often he does not come to school at all, but spends all day in rapt absorption in a movie scene of adventure. He sees the picture again and again until the theater closes and he has to exchange high adventure for a world where all the things he wants with all his heart to do are things nobody wants him to do.

Al runs away. He is truant from school and he runs away from home. He tries to explain why he runs away. There is wisdom beyond the insight of his thirteen years in his groping response. "I run away 'cause I — well, I was going to try to get a better life."

In spite of the efforts of the progressive educators to train "the whole child," we find, in actual practice, little recognition on the part of the majority of schools and teachers of needs other than those served by the traditional attitudes and educational procedures. Whether or not there is recognition of the fact on the part of teachers and school administrators, the school provides not only academic training but much of the basic training for later social and emotional responses as well. By getting constant attention for nonconformist conduct, Harry was being trained for antisocial behavior. Because the school failed to think in terms of the needs of the individual child, the symptoms, rather than the causes, of Paul's maladjustment were treated. Wilmer never learned at school to adjust to the social give-and-take relationships of the playground. Nobody at school ever recognized in the undersized, cross-eyed Mickey the soul of a D'Artagnan or made the thrill of adventure a legitimate pleasure.

Whether or not the school can change these maladaptive

[4] Cf. pages 203–206.

ways of adjusting, it cannot offer optimal opportunities for even academic adjustments unless it analyzes the reasons for its failure with those whom it classifies as "behavior problems." The school classifies a third of our delinquent boys and girls as making an unsatisfactory school adjustment in conduct and classifies attitudes as unsatisfactory for a third of the group. School is more uncongenial for the delinquent child than for the non-delinquent child. Why?

Burt summarizes some of the outstanding reasons:

> His lessons may be uncongenial; his schoolfellows may be uncongenial; or his masters may be uncongenial. The dull child in a class too high for him, the bright child in a class too low, the child of lively spirits disciplined with an almost military strictness, the big, lazy fellow in a class of sharp but timid little youngsters, the boy with the special mechanical bent for which an academic curriculum can find no place, the girl with a peculiar disability in arithmetic who is forced day after day to attempt horrid and impossible sums, the weakling who from the poverty of his home or the peculiarity of his person becomes a butt for his more jocular companions, all are in a mood for grave or petty misconduct — ready to react against the vexations of their lot and to vent their half-realized grievances in cheating, spitefulness, bullying, running away — [5]

School adjustment

One of the important factors in school adjustment is the child's grade placement in relation to his ability level. Ability level should not, of course, be the sole determinant in grade placement. One has to balance the advantages of working on tasks that present problems that are neither so hard that the child loses heart and stops trying or so easy that he does not have to try against the disadvantages of

[5] Reprinted by permission from *The young delinquent* by Cyril Burt. Copyrighted, 1925, by D. Appleton & Company, p. 174

such social factors as differences in maturity level, the big dull boy in a class with children several years younger in social and activity interests, or the precocious bright child in a class with boys and girls who do not speak his social language.

Our three hundred delinquents when first contacted were distributed in grade placement between the first grade and the first post-graduate year of high school, but their average school grade was the eighth, whereas their same-age non-delinquent schoolmates averaged ninth-grade achievement. Adjustment is more closely related to relative ability levels than to age factors in those groups where age is held constant for the two groups. The average mental age of our delinquents was 12.8; that of the controls, 13.2. In order to examine the adequacy of their educational placements, I have compared the two groups on the basis of correct placement for mental age (Table 13). For purposes of this class-

TABLE 13 GRADE PLACEMENT OF DELINQUENTS AND CONTROLS AT FIRST CLINIC CONTACT

	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
Correctly placed for M.A.	N 97	% 39.9	N 121	% 43 2
Too high for mental ability	96	39.5	82	29 3
Too low for mental ability	50	20.6	77	27 5
Sum	243	100.0	280	100 0
Not in school and special	57		20	
Total	300		300	

ification, a child is considered correctly placed in Grade I if his mental age score is 6 or 7, in Grade II if his mental age score is 7 or 8, etc.

Ratings on the child's school adjustment, as indicated by his conduct and attitude, reveal, as we would expect, highly

significant differences between our groups (Fig. 7). It is obvious, of course, that behavior difficulties would be manifest in the adjustments of our delinquent children to their school environment with its necessary limitations on indi-

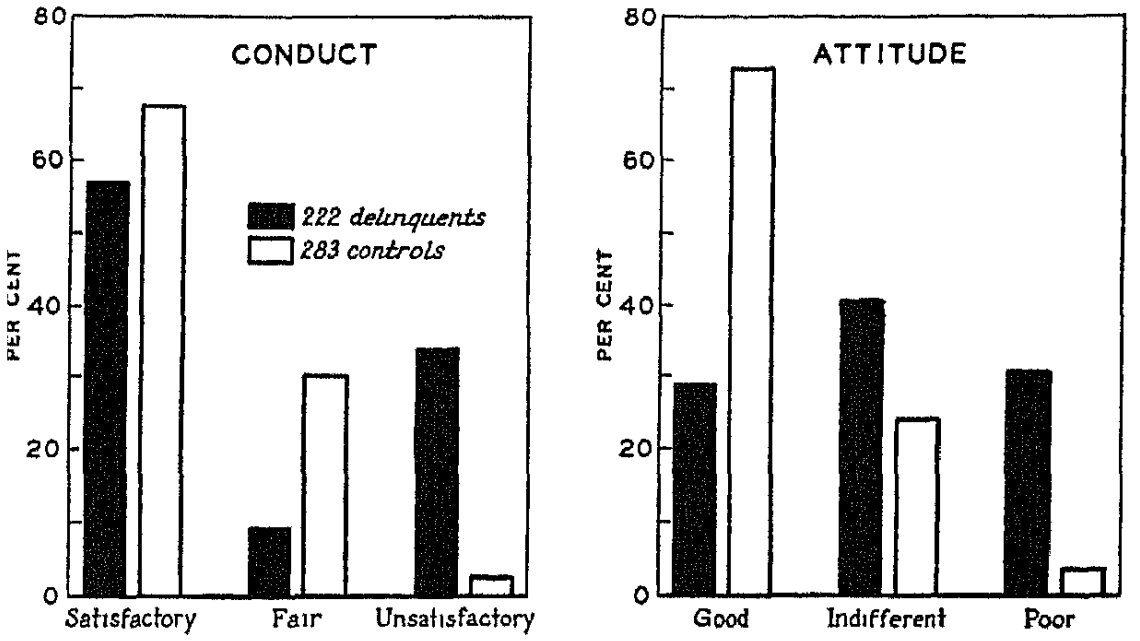


FIGURE 7

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT RATINGS

vidual freedom of self-expression. Here usually arise the first conflicts with authority outside the family. We shall see in a later chapter that, when the counterbalancing effects of age differences are eliminated, the delinquent's greater antagonism to authority becomes apparent.

Subject preferences

In an effort to assess the likes and dislikes of the children with respect to their school work, they were asked about their preferences for specific school subjects. They were asked what their favorite subject was and they usually volunteered a good deal of information that revealed not only subject preferences, but also attitudes of acceptance or re-

jection of the school situation, hatreds, feelings of being unfairly treated, or indifference.

Concerning specific subject preferences the single outstanding finding was that there were no significant differences between the two groups. All of our statistical checks indicate that there are no differences that might not occur by chance.

Subjects were classified according to content into:

1. *Language studies,* which included social studies, language, and English
2. *Science,* which included science and mathematics
3. *Technical subjects,* which included commercial and industrial subjects, home economics, music, and art
4. *Physical* education

The first two groups constitute the *academic* subjects; the last two, the *non-academic* subjects.

The following trends were found in analyzing the differences between the two groups:

Controls prefer academic to non-academic subjects to a greater extent than do the delinquents.

Controls prefer language, social studies, and English to a greater extent than do delinquents.

Control preferences for science are greater than are delinquent preferences for science.

Physical education is preferred by more of the controls.

Delinquents prefer technical subjects to a greater extent than do controls.

The effect of differences in intelligence levels on preferences was investigated. Here, too, no significant differences were found, but the trends are indicated as follows:

Above I.Q. 110, academic subjects constitute 83 per cent

of the control group preferences as against 54 per cent of the delinquent preferences for the same intelligence level.

Below I.Q. 90, academic subjects still constitute a slightly higher percentage of the control preferences (62.7 per cent) than of the delinquents (56.9 per cent) of the same intelligence level.

Finally, the results indicate that the delinquents tend to be less discriminating than the controls, in that

More delinquents like all subjects equally well.

More delinquents do not like any of them.

Five years later

Five years later 70 per cent of the delinquents and 31 per cent of the controls are no longer in school. Taking account of age differences by comparing only the eighty matched pairs, we find 66 per cent of the delinquents out, and still only 35 per cent of the controls. Why?

One of the obvious reasons that suggests itself is that perhaps the in-school groups are brighter, that the more intelligent children of both groups tend to remain in school. The average I Q. of the delinquents who are still in school is 99 as against an average I.Q. of 97 for the out-of-school delinquents, a difference which is not statistically significant. No difference at all is found between the I.Q.'s of the in-school control cases and the out-of-school controls. For each group, the average I.Q. is 104. Nor are the differences between delinquents and controls for either in-school or out-of-school groups large enough to be statistically significant.

If differences in intelligence are not sufficiently large to account for the tendency of the controls to remain in school longer than the delinquents, it may be that economic factors account for the difference. Here we do find differences and in the expected direction but the differences are still

not large enough to reach the criterion of significance which we set for acceptance (Table 14).[6] The figures serve mainly to emphasize differences in occupational status which we already know to exist between the delinquent and control

TABLE 14 OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS OF FATHERS

IN-SCHOOL vs. OUT-OF-SCHOOL CASES								
OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS	IN SCHOOL				OUT OF SCHOOL			
	D		C		D		C	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Higher ratings I II III	3	17.7	25	47 2	12	28.6	10	47 7
Lower ratings V VI VII	14	82.3	28	52 8	30	71.4	11	52 3
		100.0		100.0		100 0		100.0
Unemployed, retired	3		6		9		2	
No father in home	10		7		15		3	
Unknown	0		0		2		0	

groups. In view of the small number of cases in each occupational classification, the comparisons will be clearer if we divide the groups into upper and lower occupational ratings combining ratings I, II, and III, and V, VI, and VII as we did above.[7]

It is apparent that in the case of both in-school and out-of-school delinquent cases the majority of the occupational ratings fall in the lower classifications, whereas in the case of the controls the higher and lower classifications are about equally represented. The real difference between delinquents and controls of the in-school group lies in having an employed father versus having no father in the home. That is, for our groups the factor that contributes most to the difference between delinquent and non-delinquent is having

[6] Cf. Appendix C, Table 2

[7] Chapter 3, page 79.

no father in the home. More of the out-of-school delinquents than of those in school have no father in the home and also more unemployed and retired fathers. Such a difference seems obvious. If a boy's father is dead or has deserted the family, the boy is, of course, much more likely to have to stay out of school to work than is the one whose father has a job. More of the delinquents, we have already found, come from homes broken by the absence of one or both parents.

Another possibility that was examined was the question whether occupational goals or professional ambitions bore any relationship to the child's remaining in school. Both delinquents and controls were asked about their vocational interests and aspirations. "What do you want to be most of all?" was intended to tap what we shall call the boy's level of aspiration and "What do you expect to be?" was intended to indicate his level of expectation.[8] The latter, being nearer the level of reality, would be expected to be more closely related, of the two, to practical considerations of meeting the training prerequisites.

The controls, whether in school or out, have higher vocational expectations than the delinquents, and the controls who are still in school have higher expectations than those who are not in school. The level of aspiration of both in-school and out-of-school control groups is higher than their level of expectation and considerably higher than the level of aspiration of the delinquents. The level of aspiration of the delinquents is indeed very little higher than their level of expectation and bears no relationship to their being in school or out of school.

If any conclusions are warranted on such slender evidence, our findings seem to indicate that staying in school or not staying in school has, for the delinquents, little relationship either to vocational expectations or to vocational ambi-

[8] Level of aspiration as a motivational factor is discussed in Chapter 5.

tion. For the controls there is some evidence that the boys who stay in school are the ones whose vocational expectations are higher than those of the ones who do not stay in school. It is probable, however, that this apparent relationship can be accounted for on the basis of a factor common to both. Going on to college and expecting to be a doctor or stopping school at sixteen and expecting to be a workingman are related in both instances to family culture patterns. In families where boys stop school at sixteen they more often expect to be workingmen.

We have seen that differences in intelligence levels between our in-school and out-of-school groups are not significant, but differences in educational accomplishment, as indicated by the grade location, tell a different story (Table 15). The average grade reached by boys of the control group is 11, by the delinquents, 9.7.

The record of accomplishment of the boys who have left school is very similar (Table 16). The average grade reached by boys of the control group is 11.3; by the delinquents, 9.6. The differences in both cases are significant.

Elimination of the effect of age differences by the use of

TABLE 15 GRADE PLACEMENT OF IN-SCHOOL GROUPS

	GRADE	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
College	15	–	13 %	2	26 %
	14	–		6	
	13	4		10	
High school	12	5	53 %	15	59 %
	11	5		10	
	10	4		8	
	9	2		8	
Elementary school	8	4	33 %	5	13 %
	7	2		3	
	6	2		1	
5 and under		2		–	

TABLE 16 GRADE REACHED BY OUT-OF-SCHOOL GROUPS

	GRADE	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
College	14	–		1	10 %
	13	–		2	
High school	12	16		16	
	11	13		5	
	10	8	71 %	1	84 %
	9	13		4	
Elementary school	8	10		2	
	7	5		–	
	6	1	29 %	–	6 %
5 and under		4		–	

the eighty matched pairs serves only to accentuate the differences in accomplishments of the two groups. The delinquent group is educationally retarded.

Attitudes toward school, as expressed by the boys of our two groups, yield further evidence of a difference between the groups in levels of adjustment. Boys who were still in attendance and those who had left were rated on their attitudes as shown in Table 17.

Both out-of-school groups express more dissatisfaction

TABLE 17 ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL

	DELINQUENTS				CONTROLS			
	In school		Out of school		In school		Out of school	
Keenly interested	11	71.5%	6	44%	61	96%	14	68%
Likes	9		25		5		7	
Indifferent	6		22		1		8	
Dislikes	2	28.5%	11	56%	2	4%	2	32%
Dislikes very much	–		6		–		–	
Sum	28		70		69		31	
No rating	2		–		–		–	
Total	30		70		69		31	

or indifference than do those who are still in attendance, but the delinquents far exceed the controls in that respect even when school is viewed in the softened atmosphere lent by retrospect. Moreover, of those boys who are still in attendance, the control boys are evidently the better adjusted.

These evidences of lack of satisfaction with school and with the conditions imposed by the school environment are further illustrated in specific cases which follow in the text.

It is not my purpose to discuss in this book the role of the school in the educational guidance and adjustment of delinquent and problem children.[9] That the conditions of school life are uncongenial to many delinquent boys and girls has been found to be a significant factor in our experience and in that of others who have worked with these young people. The school knows as well as does the clinician that problem children were problem children before they ever reached school.

> The child enters school with certain past social experiences in mind. He enters with a fixed emotional attitude compounded of success and failures at home. In school he encounters another circle of adults and children, each capable of being a source of comfort or anxiety. School is to him another arena where he wins or loses approval of other human beings, thus adding to self-esteem and enriching personality, or deepening sense of guilt and inferiority. To school he carries his ready-made rebellion, submission, fear of failure, dependence or self-reliance. These new adults, the teachers, are simply other parents, rewarding, blaming, petting, loving, or criticizing according to their own mysterious standards of action. The child reacts to teachers in ways already conditioned by the home. Unless the teacher has developed genuine insight into problems of personality,

[9] The role of the school in the prevention and control of delinquency has been presented by William C. Kvaraceus in *Juvenile delinquency and the school* Yonkers: World Book Company, 1945.

> including her own, she is more than likely to fix in the child some undesirable, destructive emotional attitude, and this far more through what she is, what she does, than what she teaches.[10]

The influence that teachers exert in personal ways is far more important in the lives of delinquent children, children who present problems of social and emotional adjustments, than any needs served by curriculum adaptations, important as the latter are in the adjustment of many of the cases.

[10] Miriam Van Waters, *op cit.*, pp 89–90.

★ 5 ★

PERSONALITY AND PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

AMONG the many ways of explaining what, psychologically, we mean by personality is a definition that stems from the Latin word *persona*, from which the word personality is derived.[1] Originally *persona* meant the mask worn by the classical actor to signify his role in the drama. Quite literally, the personality displayed by the delinquent child in his contacts with the court is like a mask donned to signify a role which the child has assumed in a world that is full of many adult demands that run counter to his own. This personality, the mask, has been built up defensively through his efforts to adjust to his own needs and the conditions of his personal social-economic environment.

The *persona* assumes, by implication, a player to be masked, an inner essential nature, as it were. This inner nature is, especially in the case of the delinquent, masked by the externals, which consist, from the standpoint of behavior, of "the sum of activities that can be discovered by

[1] The reader will find in Gordon W Allport's *Personality, a psychological interpretation*, pp. 24–54, a comprehensive discussion of the term. See also D. W. MacKinnon, The structure of the personality, and O H Mowrer and C. Kluckhohn, Dynamic theory of personality, in *Personality and the behavior disorders*, McV Hunt, (Ed), New York: Ronald Press, 1944, pp. 3–48, 69–135.

actual observation."[2] Who is this inner person that the young delinquent does his best to mask? There are many cues to him if we have the wit to understand and the ability to interpret them.

Sheldon, in his book, *The Varieties of Human Physique*, describes the delinquent boy as a person who is "tough on the outside, soft on the inside."[3] By this he means that overt toughness, manifested in aggressive, antisocial behavior and bravado, is

> a defense phenomenon, an over-compensatory reaction on the part of the individual by which he tries to cover up his passive, dependent and feminine tendencies by criminal activities in which he displays an adventurous, enterprising spirit, toughness, and aggressiveness.[4]

Sheldon sees these young delinquents as abnormally dependent upon affection and security and upon emotional support from without.

As we see him in court, the young delinquent is loth to admit that he is afraid of anything. With all his insecurity and his emotional tensions, there is nothing, he says with obstinate bravado, of which he is afraid.[5]

While this tough exterior is not by any means the only *persona* seen in the juvenile court, it certainly occurs with such frequency that no one who works with delinquent children can fail to recognize it. Wilmer (page 195) is such a person. George, also, was tough outside and soft inside.

[2] John B. Watson, *Behaviorism*. New York. People's Institute Publications, 1924, p 220

[3] W. H. Sheldon, *The varieties of human physique*. New York. Harper, 1940, pp 254–259 The conception of the criminal as a person whose toughness is an overcompensatory reaction for a passive dependency, Sheldon says, is from Franz Alexander.

[4] Franz Alexander. See above

[5] Thirty per cent of the delinquents as against 14 per cent of the controls, a difference which is statistically significant, refuse to admit any fears

When George first came into contact with the court at thirteen he was a friendly, sensitive boy dependent upon affection and very insecure. He felt that he was not liked very well and that he was different from other boys. He liked *Billy Whiskers and his Friends* and read *Smoky*. But he felt that "a fellow has the most fun in life up to when he is about fifteen 'cause when you are older you think you know a lot and you go out to dances and get drunk and get put in jail."

When I saw him again at seventeen he did indeed present the *persona* of the know-it-all wise guy. He had snatched a purse from a woman on the street. He talks volubly and expresses, unsolicited, his views on everything. He it was who "didn't learn nothin'" at school because he "knew more than the teachers did." He is working in the cannery just now, he explains with the lofty air of one to whom everything is possible. He can do practically anything and is good at everything, you are given to understand. With a final masculine flourish, he assures me that women are a pain in the neck. "I had a good chance to get married," he adds, "and I refused." Such a protestation as this parting shot of George's recalls Sheldon's characterization of the delinquent boy as often having a strong feminine component. Why does this boy need to assert his masculinity quite so brashly? "He doth protest too much," and our Freudian colleagues would point out, also, that his offense was stealing a purse from a woman.

In her capacity of referee in the Los Angeles Juvenile Court, Dr. Miriam Van Waters dealt for many years with "youth in conflict with authority." [6] She describes what she calls "the attitude of delinquency" frequently assumed by children who are brought before the court. The juvenile court *persona*, as she sees it, is "a compound of insolence,

[6] *Op cit.*, p. 149.

bravado, scorn, poise, wit, youthful cunning, and resourcefulness in lying, impossible to describe unless witnessed."

Adolescent personality and adjustment

One of the cues to the complexities of the personality organization of the delinquent is the fact that, nine times out of ten, he is an adolescent between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one. Half of our delinquents are between fourteen and sixteen.[7] The adolescent youngster has reached a stage in his development where socially he is expected to behave like an adult, but is not accorded the recognition and prerogatives of adult status. Dollard and his associates describe this situation in the following passage:

> He is expected to conform to adult restrictions and mores, and yet he is allowed very few of the advantages and privileges which should accrue at maturity. His sphere of activity is circumscribed, his efforts to assert himself are suppressed, his possessions are definitely limited, his economic independence is not tolerated, his status as an adult is unrecognized, and many of the restrictions of his childhood remain in force.[8]

It is the argument of these authors that frustration stimulates aggression. It would follow that, in view of the many frustrating conditions that surround adolescence, we should expect this period to be especially characterized, also, by a correspondingly large amount of aggressive behavior. All sources agree that the majority of offenders begin their criminal careers in childhood and early youth, and we know from figures published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that adolescents in the United States commit a large

[7] Cf. Appendix A, Table 1

[8] J. Dollard, *et al.*, *Frustration and aggression* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939, p. 95.

proportion of the total offenses against property – robbery, burglary, and auto thefts.[9] In the year 1941, reports of the FBI indicate that 17.6 per cent of the total arrests were youths under twenty-one and that offenders under thirty constituted 46.8 per cent of the total

Physiologically, the adolescent is an adult; psychologically, he is in that indeterminate stage of development characterized by conflicting impulses and needs which demand contradictory reactions. These conflicts of needs we will consider especially in a later chapter on motivation.

We have considered the effect of the special stresses of adolescence upon the personality of the delinquent. At this period the difficulties involved in social adjustments, as we have seen, become particularly acute for the young person. There are more occasions for the development of maladjustments, and there is evidence that maladjustive behavior occurs with greater frequency at this period than at any other in the developmental cycle.

Economic and emotional deprivations and the personality

Some of the personality characteristics of the children we see in court are developed as ways of adjusting to economic and emotional deprivations. Direct causal relationships are seldom possible to establish, as we have seen, but, as the personality is structured in part by developmental, social, and

[9] DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF ARRESTS OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY (IN 1941)

Age Group	Robbery	Burglary	Larceny	Auto Theft
Under 21	33 0	46 6	33 3	57.6
21–29	41.7	29 8	30.0	29 9
30–39	18 2	15 1	20.0	8.8
40–49	5.7	6.0	10.8	2.8
50 and over	1 3	2.4	5 7	0.8
Unknown	0 1	0.1	0 2	0.1
Total	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform crime reports, 1941, 12, No 4, 204.

other environmental factors, so too is the antisocial behavior we call delinquency effected through personality structure.

In the milieu of poverty, relaxed or too rigid discipline, parental tensions and strained parent-child relationships, where delinquency flourishes, it is the effect of these deprivations on the person that matters, not the situations in themselves. We have seen that in the same physical environment the adjustment of siblings in the same home may be quite different. The non-delinquent is responding to a psychological environment which is different from that of his delinquent brother. His adjustment differs with the meaning of the situation for him.

A very simple incident involving the responses of two brothers to an everyday occurrence will illustrate the point. The family was returning from an outing and Waldo was asked by his mother to carry an old raincoat which had been taken along and not used. Waldo took the old coat, but his embarrassment at having to carry it publicly on the street car was so great that his tears were restrained with difficulty. However, the younger brother, Dick, grabbed the torn old coat in a burst of exuberant show-off behavior, donned it, and paraded up and down the platform in an impromptu impersonation that provoked gales of laughter from the rest of the children. The situation that could be a serious threat to the adolescent dignity of one boy could serve for his brother as an occasion for being the life of the party.

The meaning of life-situations in terms of emotional reactions and of the development of the whole personality differs for different children in the same home. To one, the life-situation may involve deep feelings of being rejected, unloved, and insecure; to another in the same home, in spite of the frustrating experiences growing out of extreme pov-

erty, there is the security of parental approval and warmth of acceptance. Thus Karl's home (page 206) is different from that of his twin half-brothers because Karl suffers the emotional deprivation of the security of his mother's affection. He is rejected, whereas the twins are accepted. The social climate of the home is quite different for Karl and for the twins. Karl's personality has been molded by economic as well as by emotional deprivation. His ways of adjusting to poverty and rejection are the withdrawing ways of the shut-in personality.

So it is that the whole life-history of the individual, his past ways of adapting his behavior to his environment, sets the pattern for his present reaction.

> If we throw a crystal to the ground, it breaks . . . into fragments whose limits were already determined by the structure of the crystal although they were invisible.[10]

Freud thus describes the development of a psychosis along lines already determined by the structure of the personality. In his discussions of the psychological structure of the personality, Abrahamsen quotes Freud's analogy to point out a similar relationship between personality structure and criminal actions.[11] We may trace such a relationship in the beginnings of child delinquency. Children, both in and out of the juvenile court group, take things that children want — things to play with, things to eat, things to trade, and the like. The distinction between thine and mine is not very clear and, too, children are apt to think in terms of present satisfactions and to ignore future penalties.

Eight-year-old Jimmie, for example, has a perfectly un-

[10] Reprinted from *New introductory lectures in psychoanalysis* by Sigmund Freud (Trans. by W H. Sprott) New York W W. Norton, 1933, pp 84–85.

[11] D Abrahamsen, *Crime and the human mind.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 61 and 128

moral, childish attitude toward stealing, which differs not a whit from his attitudes toward any of his other ordinary activities. He plays with his white rat, plays cowboy with the boys, and steals, in company with his older brother, things that little boys like to have. There are seven children at home and there is not much left from a night watchman's wages to spend for the gear that small boys love to collect.

Jimmie is lively, talkative, and active — too active to get along very happily at a conventionally run school where he is always in trouble in small, disorderly ways. He is inattentive, the teachers say, and he does not do his arithmetic.

In the interview with the psychologist there is no atmosphere of constraint. Complete lack of painful self-consciousness characterizes Jimmie's attitude. There are no guilt feelings here!

"I'm here for stealing," he announces with easy conversational assurance.

"I took a gold watch and got fifteen cents for it," he continues. "I like to play cops and robbers. My daddy used to be a cop. I'm going to be a G-Man."

In the same conversational vein he admits that he thinks he is a naughty boy and that people don't like naughty boys, but there is not the slightest hint of any wavering of his confident sense of social acceptance accompanying his statement or any other of his conventional social judgments.

It is not due to chance that the usual offense of the juvenile delinquent is stealing. The structure of the personality of children is an important determining factor. Children want things and proceed to take them. Stealing constitutes 60 per cent of the total offenses in our group.

The career of Jerry illustrates how stealing begins. When he was eight years old, Jerry had already found easy and exciting ways of satisfying needs that are common to all small boys. But Jerry, as we shall see, went through all the

stages from stealing marbles to stealing automobiles, from kindergarten to penitentiary.

On the other hand, a single incident ended Charles' stealing adventures. The things Charles stole were, as was the case with Jerry, things that kids like. Charles liked, too, the thrill of excitement in the adventure of breaking into the schoolhouse with three other boys. But right now he feels pretty sheepish about the episode. He is anxious to impress the interviewer with the fact that he is a regular fellow He is more bothered than he wants to show. Yes, he says somewhat perfunctorily, he expects to "be in some business" like his father, but his real enthusiasm at the age of nine is to be a cop. His father's business of being a corporation executive lacks the color and action of the life of a policeman. Charles' current interest is in stories of crime and adventure and he loves mystery and detective themes in the movies. But Charles' adventure world is of a piece with his fantasy. His world of reality is a substantial world where the reward is parental approval, where there are things a fellow can't do, where you have to do your part.

In both cases there is the characteristic childish tendency to seek immediate gratification and to avoid pain. In the situation for Charles was the immediate penalty of the contempt of his companions for being a quitter, but there were also greater dissatisfactions involved after the event – guilt feelings, loss of self-esteem, the threat to his security through loss of parental approval.

But Jerry's home was different. The social climate there was thoroughly *laissez faire*. He did what he liked when he wanted to do it without let or hindrance. He sought immediate gratification and usually avoided pain which, in any case, was never commensurate with the immediate gains of his conduct. This is the chronology of events that, in Jerry's case, mark the steps in the development of a criminal career.

The Development of a Criminal Career

Age 8-3: First contact with probation office	Jerry and his brother, Al, broke a window and entered a store where they stole marbles. They were apprehended by the police, taken to the detention home and locked up overnight before being returned to their homes.
Age 8-9: First clinic contact	Jerry and his brother got books from the public library on a library card bearing their father's name, tore identifying marks from the books and then sold them to buy candy. They were taken by the welfare officer to the probation office where they were talked to and then sent home. A plan was outlined at this time by which the boys were to be given small jobs like weeding gardens, so they could earn money for candy and amusements.
Age 9-3:	Jerry and his brother stole two bicycles from a military academy. They were turned over to the city welfare officer and no report of the theft was made to the probation office.
Age 9-4: First juvenile court contact	Jerry and his brother broke into an oil station and stole four dollars from the cash register. They were certified to the juvenile court, made wards, and released to go home under a suspended threat of placement at St. G.'s (Catholic) boarding school. (Judge A. presiding.)
Age 9-5: First twenty-four hour school	Jerry and another boy stole two bicycles, whereupon Jerry was placed, by the juvenile court, at St. G. parochial school. Jerry remained at St. G. ten months and then returned home.

Age 10-7: Jerry again in company with his brother, Al, stole two bicycles from the same military academy which was the scene of their former exploit. Jerry was committed to W. State Training School, his brother released to go home. He remained at the institution nine months and sixteen days and returned to his own home.

Training school

Age 12-6: Jerry and his brother broke into a sporting goods store and stole ten dollars from the cash register. Jerry, on parole to the training school, was returned to the institution and Al also was sent to the same training school. This time Jerry remained at the institution another nine months before he was released.

Recommitted as parole violator

Age 14-8: Jerry and his brother broke into a store and stole candy and gum. They were certified to the juvenile court and the parole officer from W. notified, but instead of returning the boys to the institution the parole officer released them to their home.

Age 14-10: Jerry shot another boy with a BB gun and then ran away to Oakland. He was certified again to the juvenile court and ordered returned to W. But immediately upon his return to W. was released to go home.

Age 15-7: Jerry and his brother were apprehended after stealing many valuable articles, such as a camera, case of surgical instruments, etc., from parked cars. At this time, the boys confessed to burglarizing

Again committed as parole violator

two oil stations on the two previous nights. Jerry was returned to W., Al released to his home on probation (by Judge B.). This time Jerry was released from W. after nine months and then returned home.

Age 16-7: State Reformatory — Jerry, unaccompanied by a companion, entered a dwelling and stole money and jewelry. He was committed by the juvenile court to the P. State Reformatory where he served an eighteen months' sentence before he was released to return to his own home.

Age 19-9: State Prison — Jerry stole an automobile, was charged with grand theft, tried by jury in superior court, and acquitted. On his way home after the trial he stole another car. But this time he was promptly found guilty and sentenced to state's prison.

Jerry and his Brother

The boys were first brought to the clinic when Jerry was eight years old and had, as we have seen, already found easy and exciting ways of satisfying needs that are common to all small boys. They liked playthings and they liked sweets. Perhaps these needs were not satisfied at home where the family often found difficulty in making ends meet on the wages of a peddler.

Then, too, there had really been no one at home who could take the responsibility of looking after the younger children in the family. Jerry, the youngest of the six children, was two years old when his mother died. The oldest girl was only ten years his senior and still a school girl when he was first brought to the clinic. Cooking and housekeep-

ing in addition to her school work taxed her strength to the limit without the added burden of looking after her little brothers, but the father helped and, with the aid of friendly neighbors and some community assistance, the family kept together.

At school the teachers took a friendly interest in all of the G. children, but Jerry was always the favorite. He was a short, chunky, little fellow with a round face, big brown eyes, and an air of wide-eyed innocence that never failed to smooth the path of his transgressions. He had broken into a store? Yes, he smiled confidently, he had taken a few marbles to play with. He had defaced library books and sold them? Yes, he is straightforward and frank, and such a chubby little fellow — his smile wavers and a big heart-breaking tear rolls down his cheek — he sold the books to buy candy, poor little motherless urchin. Usually there was no need for Jerry to deny or even to make excuses for his conduct — the excuses were always found by the sympathetic adults who had to deal with him.

Typical of the adult response to this sunny, carefree little Spanish boy is the phrase by which the mental examiner characterized him the first time he was brought to the clinic. Her note on the examination read: "An adorable, appealing little boy, straightforward and responsive . . ." Adults kept right on reacting emotionally toward Jerry and rationalizing his behavior from the marble-stealing stage to the automobile-stealing level — from kindergarten to state's prison.

Let us glance briefly at Jerry as he last appears in juvenile court. He is now sixteen and a half, a stocky, somewhat coarsened lad, but still the old Jerry with his sixty-four-dollar smile. He is perfectly agreeable, denies everything and takes little pains to make even the denials convincing. He is accused of burglarizing a house, taking money, jewelry, and a watch. He is being interviewed.

"Why did the officers bring you in, Jerry?"

"They found the watch on me." (He has just denied all knowledge of the burglary.)

"How could you account for that?"

"I said I found it – that was all you could say," he grinned. "And I did, too." Again the old wide-eyed innocent, though somewhat threadbare now. "I did find it. That's the truth." Jerry does not expect you to believe it and he adds, with a warm companionable smile, "She could have lost it."

Our last interview with Jerry is in his prison cell and the circumstances of his being sentenced to the penitentiary afford a fitting climax to his career. Having stolen an automobile under circumstances which afford the most convincing evidence against him, being now an adult nearly twenty years old, his case is heard in the superior court. The adult probation officer advises him to plead guilty and ask for probation. Jerry makes a shrewd estimate of his chances for probation and, to the amazement of the officers of the court, demands a trial by jury. Again Jerry's faith in his ability to smile his way out of trouble is justified. He is acquitted. But, grown too sure, Jerry thumbs his nose at the social order by stealing another car on his way home from court. And so to prison. . . .

And what kind of person is Jerry, the convict? He is talkative and friendly in an easygoing way. He is not cast down or even remorseful over the situation in which he finds himself. He puts on an act for the interviewer, but, in the course of the interview, his underlying philosophy and attitudes are revealed by both casual comment and behavior. He has never been interested in any useful work; has, indeed, never held a job "on the outside." He resists authority as water resists being bound by strings. He has no wholesome leisure interests. He has easy rationalizations

for any unflattering views of himself or his behavior. He appears to have no real regrets except for the socially imposed limitations on his freedom. When he comes out of prison he will be a little older and a little better burglar.

And there is Jerry's brother, Al. Al is Jerry's shadow. If he ever had any existence independent of his brother, we were never able to discover it. Without Jerry, Al is "as a tale that is told." Where Jerry went, Al went; what Jerry did, Al did — in so far as his inferior personal equipment permitted. Jerry it was who smiled their way out of trouble, Jerry whose quivering lip and big tears always bought them immunity from the consequences of their bad behavior, Jerry who — But this was to have been Al's story. As usual, Al's story turns out to be Jerry's. The next chapter in Al's story will not be written until Jerry is released from prison.

Family relationships and the development of the personality of delinquents

We have seen that half of our delinquents come from broken homes, that half of them come from homes where one or both of the parents is either indifferent or actually hostile to the delinquent child, and that more than three-quarters of them come from homes where the discipline is either very lax or extremely rigid or extremely erratic. The effect on personality development of such home conditions has been evident in many ways. Changes in the structure of the home involve personality readjustments. Death, divorce, desertion bring drastic changes into a child's life. Parental incompatibility in homes where there is no outward structural change entails no less profound emotional consequences and leaves its impress upon the developing personality.

The family plays a powerful role in the child's rapidly ex-

panding social life.[12] There are two chief aspects of the parental role that profoundly influence the structure of the child's personality. As his main source of affection and care, the parents are a source of security; as the disciplinary agents, they are a source of frustration in their interference with the free expression of his impulses. This "contradictory function" of the parents produces the ambivalent attitudes which the Freudian psychologists have done so much to clarify, attitudes which produce conflicts between incompatibles since a child both loves and hates his parents. The parents are

> on the one hand . . . a source of security to the child and the main means for the satisfaction of his wants. Thus they become powerful, friendly beings with whom he identifies himself . . . On the other hand the father and mother are also disciplinary agents who enforce rules and regulations which interfere with the child's egoistic pleasures.[13]

The normal processes of growing up entail, besides the satisfaction of biological needs, hunger and love, the frustrating experiences involved in the child's training with respect to eating, elimination, possessions, and interpersonal relations. Studies of the personality development normal to children in our culture emphasize the need to be aggressive which develops during the early years from the experiences of frustration and repression growing out of the relationship of dependence on parents in their authoritarian aspect.

Parental domination and overprotection may be associ-

[12] Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb discuss the role of home personalities and home attitudes in the development of aggression in their *Experimental social psychology*, pp 418–425. See also Katz' discussion of the effect of the family on child personality in *Introduction to psychology*, E G Boring, H S Langfeld, and H. P. Weld (Eds). New York· Wiley, 1939, pp 58–63; and Mowrer and Kluckhohn, Dynamic theory of personality, in *Personality and the behavior disorders*, pp. 103–112.

[13] Katz, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–59. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

ated with infantile, withdrawing reactions. Alvin at fifteen was his grandmother's baby. He is the only son of an epileptic, incompetent mother and a father who spends his time in and out of jail and mental hospital. The grandmother's home houses Alvin's helpless mother and, periodically, his alcoholic criminal father, as well as her only grandson. Alvin's grandmother has been his real mother since his early childhood. She fights all his battles, and there are many because Alvin is timid and withdrawing and imagines himself picked on by the other boys and unfairly treated by his teachers. He is frequently absent from school because school is such a hard place for him to get along, and when he does go his grandmother takes him and calls for him. Grandmother is a domineering woman, who at sixty is still using the temper-tantrum technique in resisting authority. Alvin could easily be mistaken for a boy of ten. Though his intelligence is normal, his emotional dependence on his grandmother is so complete that he is less able to undertake social responsibility than is the average first-grade child.

In the face of such overwhelming odds what could the court do? The complaint alleged that Alvin was maladjusted at school by reason of having no parent exercising, or capable of exercising, proper parental control. If Alvin is ever to overcome the handicaps of his parental environment and heritage, a more stable home environment is indicated. Yet separating Alvin from the emotional protection and domination of his grandmother is foredoomed to failure. He could not survive even in the impersonal environment of a boarding school, which required of the boy no new emotional investment, and he had to be returned to the unrelieved badness of his own home.

Parental overattention is less frequently found to be associated with aggressive behavior than with the failure to develop emotional maturity. An emotionally immature boy

from our control group will serve to illustrate the persistence of parental dependence and one effect on personality development of identification with the mother and its failure to offer a male child a satisfactory "way of life."

At twenty-one, Percy is still living at home. The wages he makes as a janitor contribute nothing to the family coffers, but serve to meet his individual needs. He finished high school, but had no desire to go on to college. In fact, none of his desires leads far beyond the family orbit.

A self-centered, immature boy, somewhat effeminate, Percy has always been an only child. His world from infancy has consisted of his overprotective mother and indulgent father. In consequence, Percy has never tried to learn to adapt himself to the world of outsiders. He does not want to grow up and anything that threatens his existence as the only child of his beloved parents is a threat to his security.

Thus his occupation, though far below the family status level, will not serve to maintain him on his own and he must live at home. His hobbies and amusements are solitary and such that they can be carried on in his shop at home. He does not care for dances, but likes to go off by himself, riding his bike especially along a country road on a moonlight night. He has read and reread a dozen times *The Swiss Family Robinson.* "Think of it," he comments, "a family making a go of it alone, like that"

Young people like him, he says, but he is shy and does not make friends easily. He has, in fact, only one real friend, a "red-head" whom he describes with an emotional warmth that is conspicuously lacking in his references to his "girl-friends." He cares little for girls, talks a bit boastfully of throwing over his last girl-friend of whom the red-head was jealous, but exhibits real emotional concern over the possibility of his friend's getting interested in girls now that he is going to college. "I don't like going out with girls. All

they do is neck. I'd rather go out with my boy-friend or just by myself."

Percy's real emotional heights are reserved for his parents, whom he describes, in connection with a discussion of parent-child relationships, as his "supreme rulers." His relationship to his mother is both worshipful and intimate. Percy describes the relationship as "playful, you know. I call her 'mom' and 'kid' and she chases me around." With a small boy's pride he tells the interviewer how he "paid for dad's breakfast this morning." So emotionally tied to his parents is Percy that it is hard to believe it is a twenty-one-year-old who speaks instead of a ten-year-old.

Percy talks a great deal in almost compulsive fashion. He keeps assuring the interviewer how well he gets along by himself without the companionship of others, how for him animals take the place of human beings, how in fact he prefers the company of his Siamese cat to that of most people he knows. "Indeed," Percy explains, narcissistically, "I like only people who are just like me. I wish I had an identical twin, then I'd have someone just like myself to associate with."

Percy's choice of desert-island companions includes only his own trinity, "mother, father, and that red-headed friend of mine." His wishes, also, reveal his emotional faith. "If I could have whatever I wish for most of all I would wish that my mother and father were younger and that we could stay that way forever. I wish that we were rich and I wish that there would be no more wars."

Submissive traits and withdrawing behavior are not the invariable personality patterns fostered by parental domination. In the case of Don the repressive influences in his home were reacted to with aggressive behavior and a compensatory striving for recognition which took the form of showing off. Don was never allowed to make decisions for him-

self. The control of a neurotic, unstable mother had been capricious, repressive, and overmeticulous in minute details. When Don was brought to the detention home his mother insisted on picking out his room so he would have a nice bed; she felt of the pillows and looked out of the window to appraise the view, while she shrugged off responsibility in the matter of his stealing two hundred dollars from his employer's cash register as a lot of fuss over nothing. "All this trouble over two hundred pieces of trash — that is all money is."

Don's attitudes, at twenty-two, toward his parents are revealing. Don has a job now as an accountant, but he is still living at home, toward which he is bitterly antagonistic. His antagonism is directed especially toward his father. He can think of nothing about his father that he likes, but is eloquent about the things he dislikes. He has never had any feeling of rapport with his father, has never been able to talk things over with him or "argue without the old man's blowing his top." "He never liked me," Don adds. The only thing he can think of that he likes about his mother is "her ability to endure the old man. He'd have ruined any lesser woman." His reactions to the dominating influences in his own home are mirrored in his statement concerning the ways in which he would want his child's training to be different from his own. "I'd let him do as he wanted to as long as it was within the law. Like at high school I'd let him choose his own type of work and I wouldn't tell him what to take."

The number of cases in which the expressed attitudes of our delinquents toward home reflect antagonism or indifference (page 73) presents a striking contrast with the non-delinquent boys. Though very few of either group express any real antagonism to either parent, there are more delinquents (20 out of 100) than non-delinquents (7 out of

100) who express either indifference or hostility toward the mother. Antagonism toward the father, as Freudian theory would lead us to expect, is greater in both groups than is antagonism toward the mother and greater for the delinquents (40 out of 100) than for the non-delinquents (26 out of 100), who express either indifference or hostility.

Further shreds of evidence on this point come from an analysis of certain items of the Sweet Personal Attitudes Test. Non-delinquent boys feel closer to the father than do delinquents, in that they like the father's treatment. Delinquent boys show a marked difference in their feelings about the mother's treatment. They feel closer to their mothers than to their fathers. This is not true of the non-delinquents. For what it may be worth, this indication that the delinquent boy fails to find at adolescence a satisfactory relationship to his father tends to substantiate the view that the boy's failure to identify with his father results in a retardation of his socialization and accounts in part for his immaturity. Margaret Mead points out that

> the male child must, if he is to make any sort of happy adult adjustment, identify himself somewhat with his father or with some other grown man. No matter how close, how affectionate, how deserving of admiration and allegiance his mother may be, she does not offer the male child a way of life.[14]

Delinquent boys show more reserve with their mothers than non-delinquent boys, but both groups are reserved with their fathers (63 out of 100 delinquents and 62 out of 100 non-delinquents). Non-delinquent boys are fonder of their parents than are delinquents.

It is obvious, of course, that conflicts of loyalties in homes where divorce and separation have occurred will have far-

[14] From Growing up in New Guinea, in *From the South Seas*, by Margaret Mead, by permission of William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1930, p 236.

reaching effects on the personalities involved on the part of both parents and children. Such a conflict was an element in Paul's personality adjustment (page 278). Eight-year-old Freddie is the son of divorced parents, each of whom has remarried. He stays sometimes with his mother and step-father, sometimes with his father and step-mother, and sometimes in a neutral boarding school. Wherever he is, he runs away because the grass on the other side of the fence is always greener.

Freddie talks a great deal in a rapid-fire, compulsive way. "I am here because I run away from home because my mother hits me — and my father," he announces. It is hard to keep the relationships straight because the formula is much the same whether it is the mother about whom Freddie is talking or the step-mother or the father. "My step-mother hits me when I don't keep my ears clean and I do the best I can. And I've got a black and blue mark where my daddy hit me."

He is vaguely troubled about his own role. Being a good boy is doing what each of his sets of parents wants him to do, but there are mother and step-father, who have one set of rules, and father and step-mother, with another set. Children want to be like people they are fond of. Their emotional security demands ego-identification with their parents. Just now Freddie is living with his own father and step-mother. We have been discussing what he wants to be and he is considering. "If I start being a good boy now, I might want to be a mechanic like my father." (Living now with his own father, who is a restaurant owner, identifying with his step-father and the step-father's occupation offers greater security.) And then, a prey to vague anxieties and guilt feelings, he adds, "Oh, I couldn't be as good as my father."

Again, we are talking about what Freddie likes to do for a good time. "The biggest fun I ever had was when I went

to the zoo. I don't have very much fun — nobody likes me. Nobody plays with me."

Freddie has not been brought into court again, but he has continued to change his residences with the emotional turn of the seasons. He is twelve years old when we see him again, this time at boarding school. He is still the anxious, insecure little boy, and still the grass on the other side of the fence looks greener. Having lived last with his father, he wishes he could go to his mother, but he is a prey to doubts about his mother, too. "Sometimes now I think my mother doesn't care for me because she sent me to my dad."

In many respects Freddie's personality development resembles that which has been found to be characteristic of rejected children.[15] Outstandingly, of course, the rejected child is emotionally insecure. Freddie's feeling of rejection extends also to his friendships with other children. He has little feeling of assurance that he can be what he wants to be and betrays his lack of self-confidence also in his confusion about his role. His emotional problems are many. His basic insecurity prevents his facing his underlying feeling of being unfairly treated; he has marked inferiority feelings expressed in various ways in which he feels inadequate; he feels sorry for himself; he is discontented — always wants to be with the other set of parents. And Freddie has no adequate ways of meeting his emotional problems rising out of his relations to his parents. His conduct shows lack of stability. He has no special skills and few resources within himself. He has only one solution — he runs away; but always his conflicts go with him.

Normally, children will try unconsciously to be like their parents, identify with them in that they tend to behave as

[15] P. M. Symonds, *The psychology of parent-child relationships* New York: Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. 54–103.

though they were the loved persons. Parents, as we have seen, are a source of security, of love and understanding, but they are also a source of frustration and inhibition because through the parents' administration of rewards and punishments children must learn to control their egoistic impulses in the process of socialization. Children thus have mixed feelings of love and hate toward their parents. In the homes of delinquent children the process of socialization and the development of mature personalities is retarded by disturbed relationships between parents and between parents and children. These disturbed relationships affect the child's feeling of being loved and wanted, accentuate and increase the frustrating experiences, and tend to complicate the normal achievement of satisfactory identification with either parent and the acquisition of adult emotional maturity. If there is conflict between his parents, a child cannot identify with either without losing the approval of the other.

The presence of faulty discipline in the homes of delinquents we have already seen to be an important factor. The attitudes of our two hundred young adults, while for the most part indicating little resentment, do show significant differences between delinquents and non-delinquents in the number of boys who are critical in their attitudes toward parental discipline or show resentment (Table 18).

TABLE 18 PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP: ATTITUDE OF SON TOWARD PARENTAL DISCIPLINE

	DELINQUENT	CONTROL
No criticism	41	47
Slightly critical	22	44
Has specific criticisms	17	4
Confirmed critical attitude	14	5
Marked resentment	6	-
Total	100	100

Delinquency and self-esteem

Of all the problems that beset delinquent children the most outstanding is the problem of maintaining self-esteem. If they are unable to cope with their environment in socially acceptable ways, to maintain self-esteem and protect the sensitive ego, children resort to outwardly aggressive behavior. Ego status is seriously threatened by such factors as being unable to do one's part in the thousand and one childish activities that require things to do with, pocket money to spend, having no father to brag about, being secretly ashamed of one's mother, living in a house where there is not enough room to do things and no space of one's own, feeling unjustly treated, and all the other intolerable situations that combine to humiliate and embarrass — that are threats to the sensitive ego.

The many situations that are threats to self-esteem are met in various ways. Suppose a boy is failing in school. There are a great many ways of reacting to this situation. He may work harder. He may begin playing truant from school. He may make excuses — the teacher doesn't treat him right, the work is too hard, he has too many things to do at home, his eyes bother him. He may just quit trying and spend his time idling, gazing out of the window, and daydreaming. These are all everyday ways of reacting to maintain self-esteem. The choice of reaction patterns to maintain self-esteem has an important bearing on the development of personality.

Some people specialize in blaming others for what happens to them; some take refuge in illness; some retreat into a fantasy world, where they do not have to compete with others to be important; some find in substitute activities — bullying others, stealing, wrecking the schoolroom and other forms of aggressive behavior — ways of protecting the self from hurts. People who have become specialists in the use

of defense mechanisms [16] have thus developed characteristic ways of reacting to frustration and conflicts. From the point of view of the psychiatrist, both delinquent and psychopathological behavior represent self-protective behavior in situations which have become intolerable.

Tommy became a specialist in maintaining his self-esteem by stealing. He was never very important to anyone until he began to steal. John, his older brother, was always a comfort to his mother and a source of reliance in the fatherless household; and Cyril, the illegitimate younger brother, with his lively ways and sunny disposition, was sought by the other boys in the neighborhood and a general favorite. Tommy was, to quote Anna Freud's young charge, "Nobody's nothing." [17]

The family was very poor and there was never any money for the things children want – indeed, not even enough for the essentials. The mother was worried and harassed over finances and the desertion of Cyril's father whom she had expected to marry. Ill health further complicated her problems. Never a good manager, she had little time or inclination for household tasks. Her county and state aid she supplemented by her irregular employment as a charwoman – there was no state aid for Cyril because he was illegitimate. The supervision of her three boys was desultory and lax.

In this home atmosphere the three boys developed quite different personality patterns. John was grave, and rather prosy, and always carried more than a child's share of the burden of household cares and of responsibility for his younger brothers. Cyril was carefree, rather sure of himself, confident of being liked, and, while he engaged in one or

[16] John J B. Morgan, The mind in the breaking, in *Our neurotic age*, S D Schmalhausen (Ed). New York. Farrar and Rinehart, 1932, pp 13–14.

[17] Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, *War and children*. New York. Medical War Books, 1943, p 85

two episodes of childhood stealing in the process of acquiring his adjustments to an expanding social environment, delinquency never became for him a pattern of response to frustrating conditions.

With Tommy the situation was different. Unlike Cyril, secure in his feeling of being loved and wanted, and John, mature beyond his years and socially secure in his consciousness of being an important person in the household, Tommy had no way of being sure he was loved or socially important either at home or at school. He was never a good student; Cyril was always a better student, and important in both academic and social ways in the school world; and John was a plodder and teacher's standby. Tommy was shy and sensitive and continued, long beyond the period where his brothers had left off, to engage in the imaginary exploits of their childish play. He was much by himself, engaging very little in organized play on the school grounds or in other group activities

His first contact with the probation officer was at the age of ten when he stole gum and cigarettes from a barber shop. For this offense he was admonished, but was not brought into court. His first court appearance was when he was twelve years old, at which time he was charged with attempted extortion.

The events of his brief life and the accompanying series of events in his world are shown in parallel columns in his life chart.

LIFE CHART OF TOMMY R.

Tommy	*Other events*
Age	Father died 4 months before
Birth of Tommy	John aged 3-6
	Mother hard of hearing, in poor health, nervous.

1-		Mother began living with Mr. X; deserted by Mr. X when she became pregnant.
2-1		Cyril, illegitimate half-brother, born. Aid from friends and neighbors.
5-9	Referred to Welfare Department — dependency. Enuresis.	Mother very untidy housekeeper and poor manager; health still very poor.
7-10	Referred to Psychological Clinic because of "inability to learn" in school. Shy and oversensitive. Eye examination. No reason discovered for inability to read.	County aid State aid Mother assists by earnings as charwoman.
8-	Enuresis till age 8	
10-3	Referred to probation office for *stealing* gum and cigarettes from barber shop. Admonished. Not brought into juvenile court.	Cyril admonished for same offense. No petition filed and neither was brought into court.
		Cyril superior to Tommy in school achievement and is more popular with schoolmates.
11-0	Referred to Psychological Clinic; reported to be unruly at home. Case work in home recommended.	John has paper route and is beginning to take more responsibility for family finances and for management and control of younger brothers.

12-8	First appearance in juvenile court charged with *attempted extortion.* Probation to Brother "J" at parochial school. School reports of conduct and scholarship good.	Foster home placement recommended by psychologist.
12-11		Mother has slight stroke.
14-9		Mother's condition worse (probably second stroke).
14-10		Part-time SRA housekeeper. Mother removed to County Hospital after two more strokes.
14-11	*Burglarized* two houses stole *ca.* $500 worth of jewelry and silver. At his second appearance in juvenile court he was again placed on probation, to remain at home; high-school teacher, Mr. M., to supervise.	Full-time housekeeper in home so children will not have to be separated and removed from home.
		Cyril more successful selling papers than Tommy.
15-0		Mother dies in County Hospital.
15-2	Placed in foster home. Placement arranged by relatives and approved by probation and welfare departments. State aid established for Tommy. Tommy not welcome in foster home of his brothers. Regarded as bad influence on his brothers.	John and Cyril placed together in home of a family friend.
		Foster mother considered Tommy a very well-behaved and very considerate boy.

15-5	Arrested after series of about 30 *burglaries* netting thousands of dollars worth of jewelry and gold and silver. While treatment was pending Tommy *escaped* from detention home by sawing through bars. *Recaptured* after 3 more *burglaries* and *committed to reformatory* (first commitment).	Informant one of the boys in the same foster home. John and Cyril ashamed of Tommy and will have nothing to do with him.
16-7	*Paroled* after 1 year 2 months to uncle in neighboring city. Job at $50 a month and farm home. Employed by Regional Park Board.	Maternal uncle willing to receive Tommy in his home.
16-11	Arrested after series of many *burglaries* and *returned to reformatory* (second commitment). After 10 months he was	
17-9	*Paroled* from reformatory and returned to uncle's custody with *no job*. Shortly *enrolled in C.C.C.*	Uncle willing to try Tommy again but has no plan for him.
18-6	Shot and killed in an attempted *burglary* and *hold-up*.	

In the face of his inability to cope with his environment, Tommy found satisfactions in stealing. Let us see how this pattern of behavior developed and became fixed. We have no way of knowing just when Tommy's stealing began. In all probability it was prior to the first incident that brought both Tommy and his younger brother to the attention of the probation officer. But in Cyril's case the stealing behavior was only an incident; for Tommy it became a way of life. It opened a new secret world of adventure, an escape from being just a nonentity, from a dull disordered home, from an older brother who bossed and a younger brother who surpassed him in everything they undertook. Then, too, there were the powerful rewards of material possessions, things he had never in his life had. But more than all was the heady satisfaction of being, in secret, a powerful person — for weeks at a time a person the police sought and could not catch, outwardly the model boy in his foster home but inwardly the person who commanded the other boys through fear.

The first juvenile court offense was, like all his subsequent delinquent activities, planned and carried out by himself. It is not hard to see in this childishly devised extortion scheme [18] traces of the imaginary exploits of his make-believe play with his brothers. Indeed, the scheme was so patently a boy's adventure that the arresting officers termed it a "child's prank." But the "prank" brought more adult attention, more drama in court hearings and police and clinic interviews than had ever before colored Tommy's drab existence. Of course he was big-eyed and sorry and said that he did not realize what he was doing and went right on dreaming of

[18] Tommy wrote a note to the owner of a bootblack stand telling the man to put five dollars in an envelope and leave it on a designated fire-alarm box for the return of a bank book and certain papers which Tommy had previously stolen from the man's desk Of course the boy was caught when he came to get the envelope from the fire-alarm box.

bigger and better exploits. These fantasies of criminal enterprises Tommy translated into action. His stealing was fast becoming adventure on a big scale with all the spice of danger and excitement of the chase.

The *persona,* the mask he faced the world with, was increasingly adequate. His school reports of conduct and scholarship were good and his behavior was considered a model of propriety in the foster home in which he had been placed. He was always considerate, never stayed out late, and had none of the noisy, troublesome ways of the other boys in the home. But in his private world he was a hero of no mean stature. His burglaries were always done alone, always in the early hours of the evening when people go to the movies, and Tommy himself was always at home shortly after the first show. His cache escaped detection in a partially excavated, unused end of the basement. His escapades were described in the papers as the work of the mystery burglar and once he even passed, unsuspected, through a cordon of police on the lookout for the burglar who had escaped detection so many times. He was only a fifteen-year-old boy in an old cap and sweater and he had not seen anyone, he told the officers. But a new source of ego-satisfaction, the thrill of power from intimidating the other boys in the home, led to eventual discovery and apprehension. Whether by accident or intent, the criminal activities of the boy who had never been important became the center of attention of four awed and intimidated boys of his own age who watched Tommy's return from his forays, pockets laden with money and jewelry, with a mixture of fear and admiration and a sense of vicarious participation in high adventure. Then one of the boys told and Tommy, apprehended and placed in a locked room of the detention home, played out the role by staging an escape accomplished through the use of tools smuggled to him by another boy.

The denouement was rapid. Recaptured and institutionalized, his model behavior won him parole within a year and a half. But a job at fifty dollars a month and a home with a disapproving uncle afforded even fewer satisfactions than had Tommy's drab childhood. Within three months he had been returned to the reformatory. His second parole, under conditions still less satisfactory, ended shortly when he was shot and killed in a burglary and hold-up

None of the legitimate rewards, either personal or social, in Tommy's life were ever able to compete with the satisfactions of the fantastic world of criminal adventure that was his inner reality. It would be an interesting speculation to guess what factors determined the trend toward delinquent behavior rather than the development of the apparently equally likely form of revolt against an intolerable situation offered by retreat into psychopathological behavior. The traits of his personality, his shyness, his sensitivity, his avoidance of ego-deflating contacts and competition with other children, his tendency to withdrawing behavior, even the circumstances of his antisocial acts — the fact that his crimes were always committed without the usual companionship of youthful accomplices and the evident influence of criminal fantasies [19] — ally his antisocial acts more closely to schizoid behavior than to the usual patterns of adolescent delinquencies.

The course of that development parallels the increase of occasions for insecurity with the progressive disintegration of his home — the illnesses of his mother, intervention of outside agencies, his mother's death, and the placement of his brothers with a family friend, whereas he himself was

[19] On one occasion when Tommy was trying to explain his behavior to himself and to me he said, "Well, I just got the idea and thoughts kept going round in my head and I forgot to think of anything else. When I don't have anything to do I get to thinking of doing things."

placed in the home of a stranger. There were, too, the continual threats to his security in the superior status and achievements of both of his brothers. While he was the equal in intelligence of his older brother,[20] John was always his superior in social maturity and Cyril was brighter than either of the other two. And there was always in that home the constant frustration of extreme poverty and want.

If we were to try to assess the efforts of court, clinic, and social agency to build up security and afford substitute satisfaction we have (1) the material assistance of financial and household aid, (2) case work in the home, (3) effort to make provision for legitimate successes in the school situation, (4) a "big brother" guidance plan, (5) removal from competition with his brothers in a friendly foster-home atmosphere, and (6) finally the last-resort resource of institutionalization. Tommy's life-history bears eloquent testimony to the inadequacy of those efforts

In behavior which defied social norms Tommy was taking action against his intolerable situation. Had he withdrawn from the situation into a world of fantasy he would have been giving up the struggle. He was not an important person in his world; through the behavior patterns of delinquency he became very important. That the medium for attaining his goals was an antisocial act is perhaps an accident of his life-circumstances. The psychiatrist points out that delinquency depends partly on the situation and partly on the kind of person the offender is.

Egocentrism for maintaining self-esteem

Articulate where Tommy was inarticulate, intellectually superior where Tommy was average, Herbert presents another personality pattern built up of elaborate rationalizations in the service of a need to be superior.

[20] Tommy always tested average, I Q 100. John had an I Q. of 98 and Cyril one of 114.

Herbert is an individualist. At fifteen, he likes to think of himself as a "lone-wolf" sort of person. He says he has only one friend and that his schoolmates look down on him and move away when he comes around. He is a little proud of being different, but it is a defensive sort of pride. He is a constant reader and very fond of books. He is not very sure that his parents like him; he has no special reason to think that they don't, but no reason to think they do.

He has an I Q. of 139 and does failing work in all of his subjects at school. He is an individualist at school. The teachers say he is a show-off, that he is disobedient, and that his attitudes are very poor. He reads everything that is not a schoolbook, sings very well, and plays the guitar.

Home is casual. There are nine children living with their parents in a large, rambling, old house. The place is always in the wildest disorder, clothes where their owners dropped them, beds unmade, dishes washed only when there are no more clean ones. The father works at night and sleeps during the day. He is the rigid disciplinarian of the family, but usually asleep when the children are at home. The mother has a yen for reforming other people's children and is much away from home and the dull drudgery of housework.

The A. family is a pioneer family and Mrs. A., especially, is very proud of the family status. Herbert, too, claims distinction, "I'm the only one of the A. family that has ever been in the hands of the law and they've been here since 1870."

Herbert's career in crime flourished. Five years spelled a record of repeated unspectacular petty thievery and burglaries, then the reformatory. When we look him up on our follow-up survey, we find him at home, just released from the reformatory and without employment.

He is still an individualist, but he has added immeasurably to his stock of experiences — especially the vicarious experiences gleaned from books. His reformatory years have

been spent in developing a philosophy of life bright with varied patches from his excursions into history, literature, science, and art. His vocabulary would put a college sophomore to shame, whereas Herbert, irked by the restrictions of having to fit into a prescribed mold, never progressed formally beyond the eleventh grade.

Herbert has thought much about himself. His own delinquency he describes as "an attempt to gain the power-prestige that everyone in the world needs more than anything else." This need for self-aggrandizement, starved in a family where there were so many primary needs of so many members to be considered, led him from early childhood to "misbehave in order to get attention." He sees himself as the one neglected because he was "the strongest in the family." In a family where there were so many children that the parents could not give each the attention that was needed, Herbert was deprived, he believes, of companionship with his father and the opportunity to profit by his example of "self-discipline and integrated philosophy." In view of the fact that Herbert has been but newly released from a reformatory, there is a touch of naïveté in his comment that in some ways he, Herbert, has not "learned the old man's self-discipline even yet."

Disillusionment, too, Herbert says, has been a contributing factor to his delinquency. There were friends who let him down, a girl friend who proved to be "no good," and then there were so many "chippies" and whores that his youthful "ideals of womanhood and friendship were shattered." "All this," he points out with the worldly cynicism of his twenty years, "was before I knew about life and people, or I would have understood it."

While he professes great admiration for him, Herbert's characterization of his father lacks the touch of flesh-and-blood reality that warms his description of his mother, whom he evidently knows. "She is now," he says, "at the

stage where she feels sorry for herself in public." Her children have grown up and are breaking away from family ties. Like other mothers, she is used to being depended upon and she is hurt and resentful because of this growing independence of her children. "She thinks," as Herbert puts it, "that she is getting a bad deal and she is lonesome."

Herbert has built up an ego-defensive concept of himself which he finds acceptable to his self-esteem. Witness his analysis of the motivation of his delinquent behavior — the "power-prestige" motive. Again, he was left without proper parental guidance in his childhood because there were so many and he was "the strongest." At school he held himself aloof from the other children. "They liked me if I went out of my way to make them like me, but it wasn't worth it. I always liked books better than a bunch of kids." Was there little affection from his parents? His self-esteem is best maintained by the assumption that it was his coldness, not theirs, that constituted the barrier. "I didn't invite much affection," he says. "At times I wanted more, but I didn't know how to ask for it"

His fears, too, conform to the acceptable ego-pattern. What is he most afraid of? Herbert answers, "Myself, I guess. I am always afraid of anyone that I have done anything against. It is my conscience that I'm really afraid of." Does this perhaps point to an unconscious need for punishment as one of the motivating factors in his repeated delinquencies?

Perhaps best of all his wishes reveal the "*Machtmensch*" motive.[21] "If I could have whatever I wish for most of all?

[21] Allport in characterizing "the demand for self-aggrandizement in human nature" that is stressed by the "philosophies of Egoism" refers to an instinctive desire for power. Thus "Every man is inescapably a *Machtmensch*, his most coveted experience is the enhancement of his self-esteem, and his most ineradicable trait is vanity" *Personality, a psychological interpretation.* New York Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1937, p. 169. Reprinted with the permission of the publishers.

I'd wish for unlimited will power, unlimited faith in my beliefs, my theories, my ideas of God, and unlimited knowledge, except as to the other side of the grave." As inescapably as these wishes reveal the power motive, so do they reveal, also, just as inescapably, the need for protection from what Allport calls "unwelcome narcissistic wounds." A wish for unlimited faith in one's beliefs, one's theories, one's ideas, discloses by implication another need. Lack of faith in oneself is a dangerous threat to self-esteem. But to deceive oneself about one's own motives and capacities is one of the ways of "engendering a certain bravado necessary for life." [22]

In the case of a boy whose defenses all show so plainly the need to be superior — the build-up of his family status, the mask of knowledge, the wistful self-sufficiency — it is hard to believe that no techniques could have been found, even in just an ordinary school, by means of which such a boy could be important in both personally and socially acceptable ways. He was always a school failure, yet he read philosophy and science on his own initiative.

One must, of course, concede the court's failure. It is true, however, that no course of action sponsored by the court could have been acceptable to Herbert's self-esteem and by the time he first came into contact with the court his egocentrism had become fixed in negative ways.

Aspiration level and level of expectation

One of the ways of describing personality is in terms of goals, of what the person aspires to be or to do — not in some wild flight of the imagination but in terms of everyday accomplishments. On the basis of what he has been able to do in the past, he has an idea of what to expect of himself, of his own adequacy in a given situation. If, for instance, he had been solving ten problems in ten minutes he might

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

hope in successive trial periods to increase his score and the amount of increase that he hopes for, in reference to his past achievement, is one measure of his level of aspiration.

Important differences between people are revealed in the level of aspiration and also certain general characteristics that most people show. Most people have an aspiration level that is somewhat higher than their achievements. People generally, too, place their goals near enough to their actual achievement level so that they will not be embarrassed by failure and yet high enough so that success brings feelings of accomplishment.

Characteristic differences between people have been found in the pattern of relationship between what they have reason to expect to do and what they hope to do. Some people with a consistently high level of aspiration "have their heads in the clouds," as it were. Others protect the sensitive ego from failure by consistently underestimating their achievements.

Relevant to the level of aspiration are the vocational ambitions and expectations of our delinquent as compared with our non-delinquent children. In our comparisons, level of aspiration is gauged by what the child wants to be most of all.[23] Level of expectation is measured in terms of what he expects to be, what he thinks he probably will be. Things as they really are, or the reality level as far as vocational status is concerned, is represented by the father's vocation, his present occupational status. Vocational choices were expressed by the children, both what they want to be most of all and what they expect to be, at the time of their first clinic contact. Five years later, those of the two groups who were interviewed again — our one hundred delinquent and

[23] I am well aware that level of aspiration, as I am using the term, includes to a certain extent the wishful thinking of the daydream, but there is considerable evidence — relation of achievement and intelligence to vocational ambitions, etc. — that seems to justify its use in this connection.

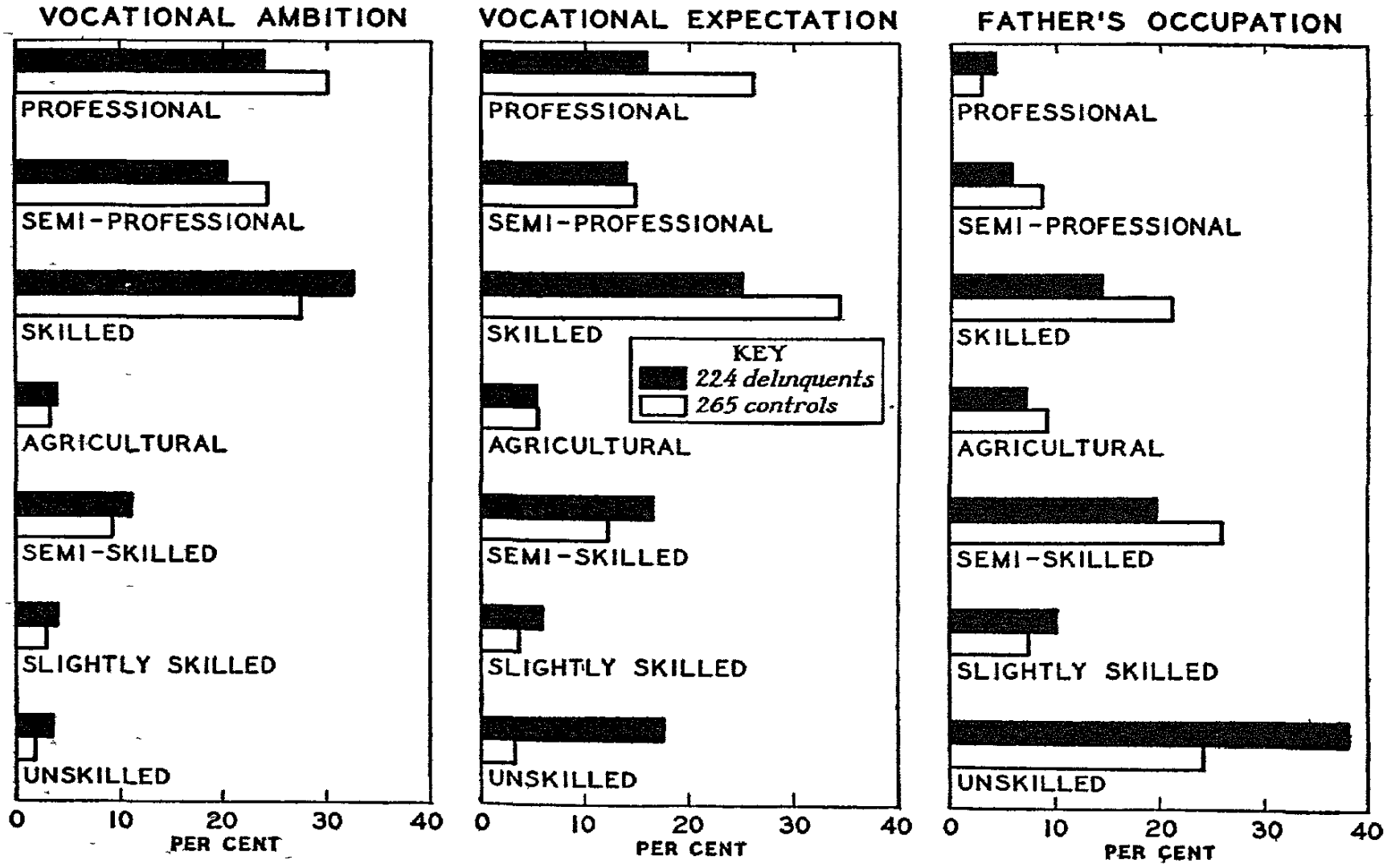


FIGURE 8

WHAT I WANT TO BE AND WHAT I EXPECT TO BE

one hundred control boys — were asked again what they wanted to be and what they expected to be. To furnish a basis for establishing points of reference for comparisons, all vocational choices were rated on the Minnesota Scale for Occupational Ratings (Fig. 8).

There is little difference between the two groups with respect to the level of aspiration at fifteen, though the vocational ambitions of the delinquents tend to be slightly lower than those of the non-delinquents. However, when we consider the level of expectation we find a different story. Here the delinquents are more realistic. Their expectations are lower than those of the controls by a significant amount. As we have already seen, the delinquent group comes from a lower-status group when occupation of father is the criterion. The vocational expectations of the delinquents are more nearly on the reality level of their present socio-economic status — as represented by father's occupation — than are the expectations of the controls.

At twenty, however, both groups have become more realistic. The level of aspiration of both groups is lower and there is still no significant difference between the two, though the vocational ambitions of the controls have changed less than those of the delinquents. When we analyze the changes in level of expectation we find evidence of greater stability of interests in the control group. There are more changes to a lower vocational level than to a higher among the controls, which is a further indication that they are becoming more realistic than they were at fifteen, but still in 40 per cent of the cases there is no change. The delinquents have changed expectations in 74 per cent of the cases and these changes are about equally divided between higher-status and lower-status vocations.

At twenty, as at fifteen, the level of aspiration is higher than the level of expectation for both groups, but the two

TABLE 19 VOCATIONAL AMBITIONS OF CHILDREN IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE

VOCATIONAL AMBITION	PERCENTAGE Above average		Average		Below average	
	D	C	D	C	D	C
Professional	65.4	82 6	48.6	60 4	37 9	45 0
Skilled	34 6	17 4	47.3	35.1	50 8	48.9
Unskilled	–	–	4.1	4 5	11.3	6 1
Total	100 0	100.0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100.0

TABLE 20 VOCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF CHILDREN IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE

VOCATIONAL EXPECTATION	PERCENTAGE Above average		Average		Below average	
	D	C	D	C	D	C
Professional	55 0	87.5	40.9	49 5	20.7	26 9
Skilled	45 0	12.5	43.9	46.4	47.9	63 9
Unskilled	–	–	15.2	4.1	31.4	10 2
Total	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

levels have drawn nearer together at twenty. At fifteen, there was a significant difference in vocational expectations of delinquents and controls; at twenty, that difference has been reduced so that, while the level of the controls is still higher, the difference is no longer significant. The discrepancy between what he wants to be and what he expects to be has decreased less for the delinquent than for the non-delinquent boy because the delinquent boy was more realistic in the first place.

These changes are consistent with the hypothesis of increasing maturity for both groups.

Evidence of consistency between levels of ambition and

expectation and level of ability is yielded by such data as the extent to which the higher vocational choices come from the brighter children and from the children who remain in school instead of leaving school to go to work (Tables 19 and 20).

Whether a boy is delinquent or non-delinquent is more closely related to both his vocational ambitions and expectations than is the fact that he is in school or out of school, but the vocational choices of boys who are in school at the end of the follow-up period are consistently higher than the choices of boys who are out of school.[24]

Satisfactions with the self

We shall consider in a later chapter the various lines of evidence that point to the establishment of an adjustment equilibrium. There are, in any life-pattern, ups and downs of adjustment — what Allport calls "the successive rhythms of maladjustment and adjustment (which) constitute the pulse of development."[25] The insecurely established equilibrium of the adolescent is easily upset and we have seen that the threats to equilibrium in the environmental pressures of his world are greater in the case of the delinquent than in that of our control boys. Maintaining self-esteem has special hazards for the delinquent.

When we interview these boys again five years after the court experience which first brought them into contact with our clinic, we get certain impressions and we have certain factual data which we have tried to appraise in terms of what is revealed concerning the boy's own conceptions of himself — the degree of satisfaction with the self, with his job, with his educational opportunities, his readiness to assume responsibility and the like.

The degree to which he is satisfied with himself has been

[24] Cf. Appendix C, Table 4. [25] *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

appraised in terms of what he reveals about his achievements in relation to his goals. Is he what he wants to be, or is he seriously dissatisfied with himself and his status? (Fig. 9.)

Perhaps it is not surprising that at twenty these young adults are as satisfied with themselves as they appear to be

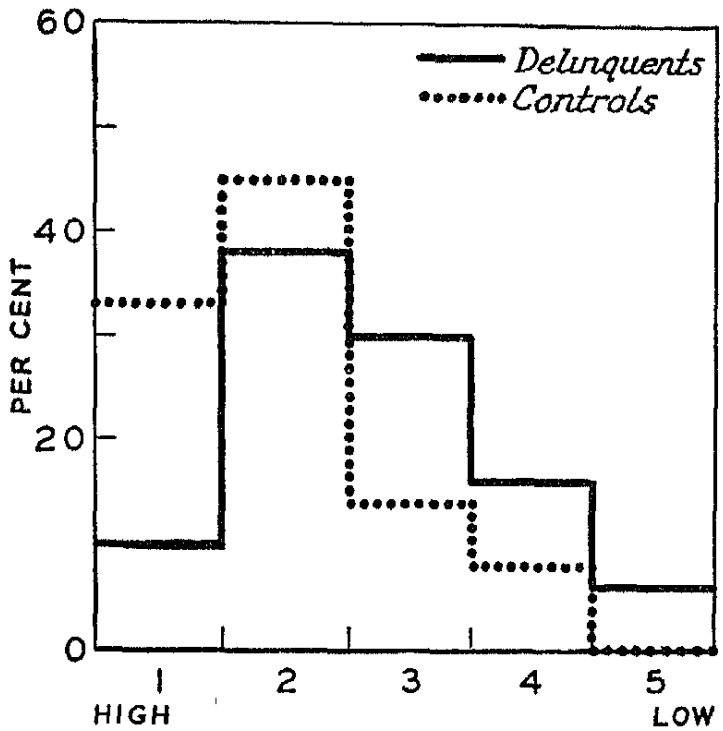


FIGURE 9

SATISFACTION WITH SELF

— especially when I remember that one can be "bounded in a nutshell and count (one) self a king of infinite space." Certainly it is not surprising that the delinquent boys are markedly different from the non-delinquents in this respect.

Most of the boys of both groups have no feelings of bitterness, of being persecuted, though the presence of boys who feel they have not had a fair deal and some who harbor the feeling that everyone is against them make the two groups stand apart.

Non-delinquents, too, give evidence of having attained a more stable equilibrium and greater maturity in that they are more ready to assume responsibility than are the delinquent boys. Evidences of willingness to assume responsibility are the character of employment, occupational choice, the extent to which the young person voluntarily assumes

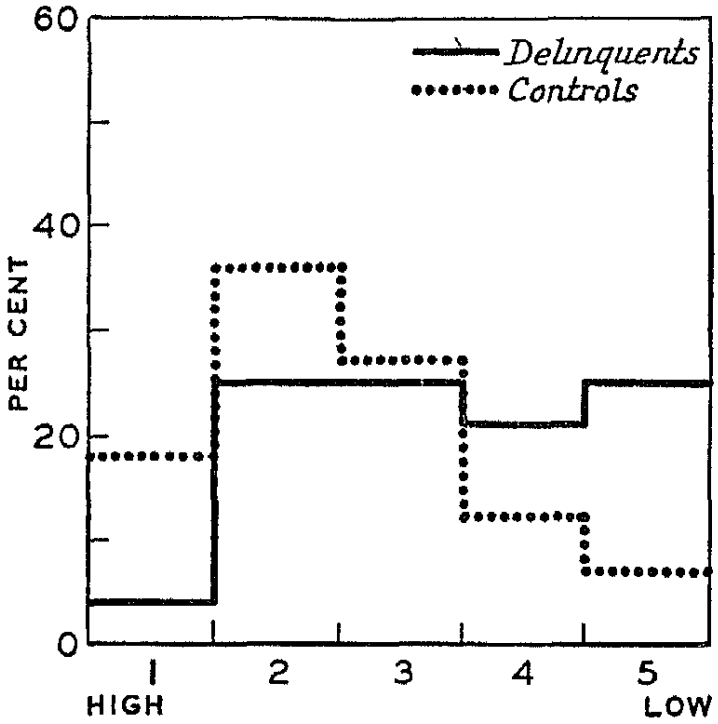


FIGURE 10

READINESS TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY

leadership responsibilities in school, organizations, and community, and in other group activities. Marked differences between the two groups were found in this trait (Fig. 10). Avoidance of positions and activities involving responsibilities — the two lowest ratings on a scale of 5 — was found to be characteristic of 46 per cent of the delinquents and 19 per cent of the controls. Since age is obviously a factor favoring the older group in this trait, the fact that eliminating the age difference by comparing only the matched pairs

served to increase the difference between the groups was to be expected.

Personality tests

In attempting to appraise by objective means the personality of the delinquent children who came before the court, we have used systematically such tests as were available at the time the study was begun (1933) which met the requirements of ease of administration, objectivity of scoring, the existence of satisfactory norms, and, most important of all, clinically useful scoring categories. For diagnosis in individual cases, I have used, as the occasion demanded, all of the various tests available. The advantages of sticking systematically, for the purposes of the research, to the tests originally chosen had to be weighed against the disadvantage of small and statistically insignificant data on tests introduced in the midst of the study. Thus it is that, for purposes of systematic evaluation, we have only the Bell Adjustment Inventory, the Cady revision of Woodworth's Psychoneurotic Inventory, and the Sweet Personal Attitude Test, whereas for understanding any given child we have a wide variety of techniques.

The Woodworth-Cady Inventory was suitable for children between the ages of nine and fourteen. The Bell Inventory was used for boys of fifteen and over. The Sweet test was used for all boys in the follow-up study and the Bell and Woodworth-Cady were repeated if they were appropriate. Where mental defect interposed a barrier to understanding, the Woodworth-Cady was sometimes used for older cases and sometimes it was necessary to omit all paper-and-pencil tests because of mental defect or other special condition or circumstance.

Letter grades indicate the distribution of scores on the Woodworth-Cady Psychoneurotic Inventory for children at

the time of first clinic contact and for those of the control group for whom the test was suitable (Fig. 11). The test does serve to differentiate the two groups, but as a diagnostic instrument its uses are limited. Negative scores are more apt to be indicative of maladjustment than are positive scores to be indicative of good adjustment. The test frequent-

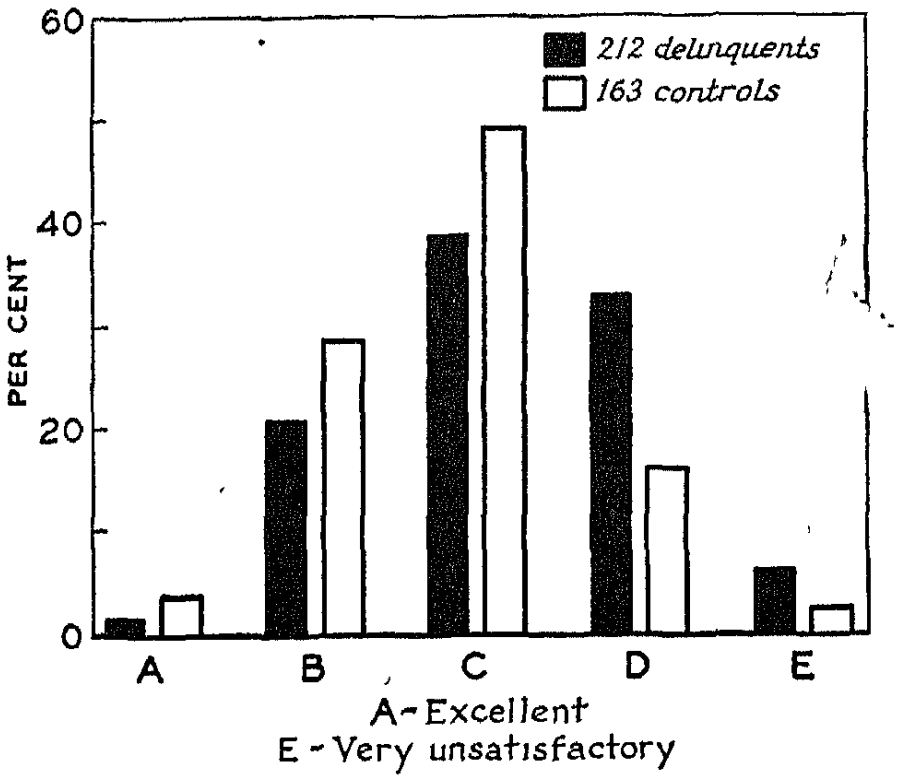


FIGURE 11

WOODWORTH-CADY PSYCHONEUROTIC INVENTORY

ly serves to uncover some of the areas of tension that we discussed in an earlier chapter, it can serve also as a medium of expression to the verbally inhibited but emotionally tense child who may thus be able to initiate talk with the psychologist about his difficulties.

The Bell Adjustment Inventory is scored, it will be recalled, in terms of adjustment categories. The only category that was meaningful for our groups was the Home Adjust-

ment classification (Fig. 12). The delinquent children of our first contact group were more poorly adjusted to their homes, on the Bell scoring norms, than were the control group. That there were only statistically insignificant differences, differences that might occur by chance, on health, social, and emotional adjustment scores, together with the fact that differ-

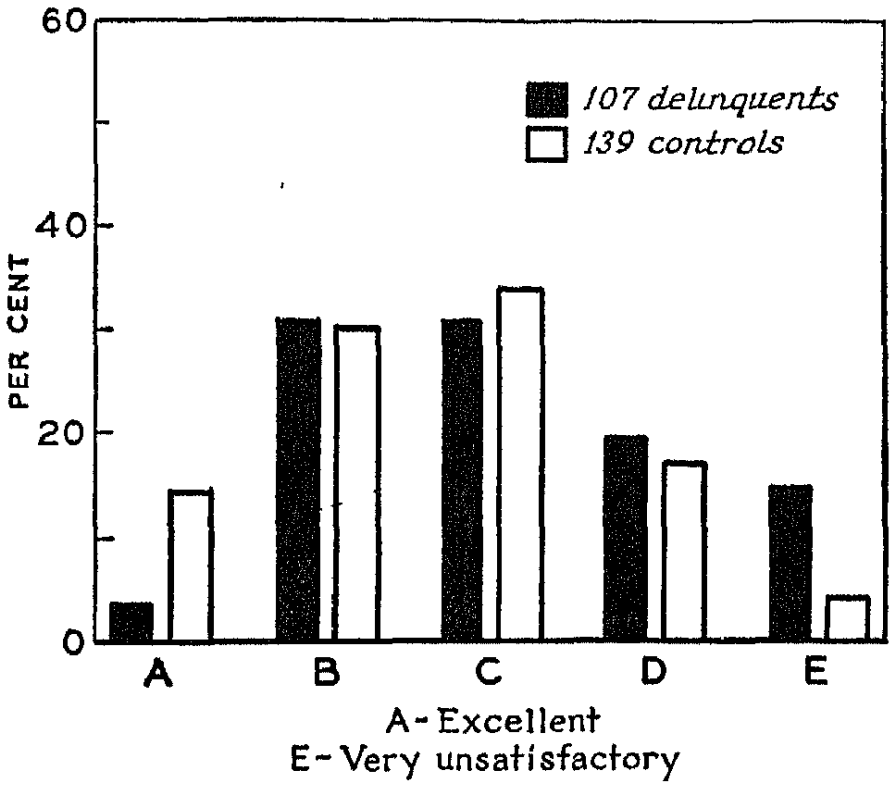


FIGURE 12

BELL HOME ADJUSTMENT CATEGORY

ences of similar magnitude were found to be characteristic of a second group of delinquents, suggests that the test does not measure in those spheres what it purports to measure. A study was made of the individual questions that make up the inventory to find out which of them did show a statistically significant difference between the two groups. In order of the magnitude of the difference revealed the questions were:

1. Have your parents frequently objected to the kind of companions you go around with?
2. Did you ever have a strong desire to run away from home?
3. Do you often feel self-conscious because of your personal appearance?
4. Has either of your parents frequently found fault with your conduct?
5. Are your parents permanently separated?

These questions were answered in the direction of "maladjustment" by the delinquents. The questions in the following list were answered in the direction of "maladjustment" by the non-delinquents of the control group. Again they are given in order of the magnitude of the difference revealed.

1. Do you blush easily?
2.5. Do you daydream frequently?
2.5. Do you have difficulty in starting a conversation with a person to whom you have just been introduced?
4.5. Are you troubled with shyness?
4.5. Do you find it necessary to watch your health carefully? [26]

The Sweet test, often called the Self-Ordinary-Ideal Test, does not serve to differentiate between our two groups, nor have we found that the conflict scores — the discrepancy between self and ideal, between self and the boy's conception of the average, and between the ideal and the average — yielded for the individual case meaningful material from the standpoint of personality evaluation. We did find, however, that certain items [27] pointed to personal differences in attitudes that were consistent with other estimates of the trait in question. Sweet first reported (1929) the method to

[26] Cf. Appendix A, Table 11, for item analysis.

[27] See page 128

be successful in differentiating between delinquent and non-delinquent adolescent boys.[28] He computed six scores, which were called measures of (1) "self-criticism," (2) "criticism of the average boy," (3) "feeling of difference," (4) "superiority and inferiority," (5) "deviation from the accepted idea of right," and (6) "social insight." Reusser, in 1933, using the Sweet technique, compared delinquent with non-delinquent boys, and found the delinquents to be more egocentric in attitudes toward themselves in relation to the ideal — they were more critical than the average boy and less able to understand how others feel.[29] The indications are that the technique is a promising one and might, if more carefully developed, yield valuable information concerning personality traits.

On the whole, paper-and-pencil tests of personality yield the clinician little of value in return for the expenditure of time involved. One needs in the Juvenile Court Clinic much less direct methods of assessing personality if one is to succeed in penetrating the mask without threat to the self-esteem.

We have found many personal ways in which the delinquent differs from the non-delinquent. We need, also, to say that there are even more ways in which he is like the non-delinquent. In most of the comparisons where our attention has been centered on the differences, there are also, always, similarities. Taking them together — the similarities and the differences for comparison after comparison — one is struck chiefly by the fact that the sum of the similarities is greater than the sum of the differences.

[28] *Op. cit.*

[29] J. L. Reusser, Personal attitudes of delinquent boys. *J. juv. Res.*, 1933, **17**, 19–34.

6

THE INTELLIGENCE OF DELINQUENTS

WHEN we first began to use intelligence tests along about 1905, when Binet and Simon published their first scale, the tests were very crude measures. They succeeded in differentiating feebleminded from normal children and did it more adequately and more quickly than it could be done even by a person trained in dealing with defectives. This first scale for measuring intelligence was devised by its French authors to select children who by reason of defective mentality needed special instruction in the Paris schools. It proved to be so valuable for this purpose that it was translated into other languages and began to be widely used in schools, institutions, and juvenile courts.

The early scales were crude measures of intelligence in that, like a foot-rule that has been broken off at each end, they measured a little short. They gave mental age scores that were too high at the lower end and mental age scores that were too low at the upper end. Then, too, the directions for giving the tests were not fully stated so that the results obtained by one examiner sometimes differed from those obtained by another examiner. Nor were the standards for scoring the test items given in enough detail to enable everyone to score doubtful responses in the same way. The original scales were in the French language and a problem translated into English sometimes presented a

different degree of difficulty to American children. For example, one of the problems in Binet's original scale involved making change for four sous from a one-franc piece worth twenty sous. Since there are no American coins of the same denominations, the test would have to be restandardized for American children by finding out in a sufficiently large number of cases at just what level of difficulty it belonged when coins in common use in our country were to be substituted in the problem which, on the average, nine-year-old French children could solve.

Before revisions of the scales, standardized on American school children and extended at the upper and lower ends, had been worked out, a great many children were examined with tests based upon the early translations of the French scales. Children in institutions, both for defectives and for delinquents, were examined with these scales and the results published in large numbers. During the first ten years of the use of the scales nearly two hundred studies reporting the results of testing groups of delinquents appeared in the journals. In institutions for the feebleminded it was found that there were practically no cases whose mental age score was above twelve. Consequently, it was assumed that a mental age score of twelve marked the upper limit of mental growth of mental defectives. When it was found that intelligence test scores of delinquents in institutions were, on these scales, in a large percentage of the cases below what was assumed to be the lower limit of the range of normal intelligence, it was inferred that an appalling number of delinquents were feebleminded. In one study, 84 per cent of the delinquents examined were classified as feebleminded! It was not uncommon to find percentages as high as 50 and 65 reported for groups of institutionalized delinquents.[1]

[1] Summaries of the reports of these early investigations will be found in an article by E. H. Sutherland, Mental deficiency and crime, in *Social attitudes*, Kimball

In the face of what appeared to be such overwhelming evidence, it is hardly surprising that people began to think there was something wrong with a child who was a delinquent and to conclude that that something must be some mental deficiency. Goddard, then the psychologist at the Vineland Training School for Feebleminded in New Jersey and the man who introduced the Binet Scale into this country, lent the weight of his authority to this belief. Arguing on the basis of the proportion of defectives found in institutions for delinquents, he concluded in 1919 that "the greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low grade mentality" and pointed out further that "every mental defective is a potential delinquent." In those early days of testing the influence of Goddard was very great. In those days, too, there were many poorly trained and inexpert testers, and Goddard, on the assumption, I suppose, that the finer the sieve the better the job of screening, also commented that the "more expert the mental tester the larger proportion of delinquents he would find to be feebleminded." And, as one writer has sardonically pointed out, many testers attempted to demonstrate their superiority in that manner!

Aside from the obvious fact that the delinquents in institutions constitute a selected group — they are the ones that got caught, and, of the ones that got caught, they are the ones who are least likely to have parents competent to look after them — this still constitutes insufficient evidence that mental deficiency is causally related to delinquency, even if one were to take the data at face value. But let us turn again to our techniques for measuring intelligence. If our scale has not enough top to measure what it purports to

Young (Ed.), New York: Holt, 1931, pp. 357–375. See also L. D. Zeleny, Feeblemindedness and criminal conduct. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1933, 38, pp. 564–576. The recent literature on intelligence tests of delinquents is reviewed in the article by Metfessel and Lovell, Recent literature on individual correlates of crime, pp. 142–153.

measure beyond the age of thirteen or fourteen, then when we use it on groups of boys and girls in their adolescent years we are going to measure them short by an unknown amount, that amount being proportional to the shortness of our measuring instrument. The results of these early studies which showed such high proportions of mental defectives among institutionalized delinquents showed no more than that our measuring instruments at that time were inadequate to the task of measuring the intelligence of young people much beyond the age of twelve or thirteen.

Then, too, we found later, after we had improved our measuring instruments and had tested large numbers of people of all ages, that our earlier standards as to what constitutes feeblemindedness needed revision. I have discussed this problem in connection with a discussion of the interpretation of I.Q.'s on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scales, which is the test we used to determine the intelligence level of the young delinquents of our study. In that connection I pointed out that

> sharp lines of distinction between normal intelligence and feeblemindedness do not correspond to clinical realities, there is no single point on the scale which can be designated as the dividing line between the legally and socially feebleminded on the one hand and the normal on the other. This fact has long been recognized by those who have been dealing with problems of mental deficiency. . . .
>
> Since it has been the practice of psychologists and others dealing with the mentally defective to classify as feebleminded persons of low intelligence who, at maturity, are "incapable of successful personal-social adjustment without special assistance or supervision" and low intelligence alone has not been found a valid criterion of the ability to make social adjustments — get along in school, make an independent living, manage oneself and one's affairs — there has

> arisen much divergence of opinion concerning nomenclature and the determination of the border lines of feebleminded-ness. However, there is little or no disagreement concerning the fact that the term *feeblemindedness* implies not only low intelligence but *usually* social inadequacy as well. Therefore, a clinically useful as well as psychologically valid schema for classification of I.Q.'s must seek to differentiate measurable intellectual differences from the socio-psychological-legal distinctions that are important for the clinician who is dealing with problems of adjustment. To that end it is important to adopt . . . a terminology that will serve to designate low intelligence without implying the presence of other behavior traits that have become associated with the term *feeblemindedness*. There is some precedent for the adoption of *mental deficiency* as such a term.[2]

We shall, in discussing our cases, use mental deficiency to designate intelligence below I.Q. 70 on the Stanford-Binet Scale and shall reserve the term feebleminded to describe cases for whom such a clinical diagnosis has been made in accordance with the above considerations.

In spite of the fact that there are still many discrepancies in method, underlying assumptions, and specific techniques for determining the intelligence of delinquents, the published data of the various investigators agree that

a) there are more mental defectives among delinquents who get caught than among unselected school children;

b) the average intelligence of groups of institutionalized delinquents is lower than the average intelligence level of public-school children;

c) there are delinquents with very high levels of intelligence as well as delinquents whose intelligence level is low.

[2] The significance of I Q 's on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale, pp. 649–650. See Chapter 2, footnote on page 55.

In evaluating the findings reported by any investigator concerning the intelligence of delinquents, one needs to ask

a) What specific technique did he use for determining the intelligence level of his subjects?

In addition to tests of the Binet type which are used to examine one subject at a time under standard conditions, there are many group tests in current use which, particularly in the case of children, are less discriminatory instruments than is an individual test. The I.Q. obtained on a group test is not always comparable to an I.Q. obtained on an individual test. There are, also, individual tests, such as the Arthur Performance Scale, that appraise the intelligence level of a person in terms of his performance in a series of tasks that do not require the use of language either on the part of the examiner or of the subject. Certain of the group tests, too, are presented in pantomime and are used when large numbers of non-English speaking or illiterate subjects are to be examined, e.g., the Army Beta test used in World War I. Scores on verbal and non-verbal tests are not always comparable. Among the individual tests which have developed more or less along the lines on which Binet worked, there are several different American revisions in current use, the Stanford Revisions (1916) (1937),[3] the Kuhlmann Revisions (1922) (1939), and the Wechsler Bellevue Scale (1939), which is a combination Binet-type of test and performance test standardized primarily for use with adults. We must know, if various findings are to be compared, what test each investigator used and how well it was suited for its purpose.

b) Whom did he test? Institutionalized delinquents? Juvenile court cases? Delinquents referred to a psychological clinic?*

[3] The 1916 scale was revised because we found that there was still not enough top to enable us to gauge satisfactorily the intelligence level of bright adolescents and that it needed extension at the lower end to do a better job of testing at the preschool levels. The 1937 Revision has two comparable forms which further extends its usefulness in making repeated tests on the same individuals

In 1918, Williams found that 30 per cent of Whittier State School boys were mentally defective.[4] In 1935, Fenton found, in the same institution, only 4 per cent to be mentally defective.[5] That two competent psychologists, using the same Stanford-Binet revision, secured such different results is due to an administrative change in policy at the institution. In the interval, the institution had inaugurated the policy of accepting no mentally defective boys.

Institutionalized delinquents differ from run-of-the-mill juvenile court cases in that, in most places, where the institution accepts whatever cases the court commits, those delinquents sent to training school or reformatory are the ones whose parents are less capable of looking after them, who come from the poorer socio-economic strata and thus lack opportunities favorable for extra-institutional adjustment, who have repeated their offenses, and are otherwise selected on the basis of factors which are more likely to be associated with low intelligence than are cases in general.

The intelligence level most frequently reported for groups of delinquents in institutions for delinquents is about 82 I Q., on the average, where intelligence is measured by means of the 1916 Stanford-Binet Scale. The practices of juvenile courts vary so widely in the matter of determining which of the cases referred shall be examined that it is very hard to get a fair sample of court referrals. However, all of the reports of examinations of juvenile court cases (made with the 1916 Stanford Revision) are above the average for institutionalized delinquents. If we accept an average I.Q. of approximately 85, we shall not be far wrong on the basis of the data available.[6] With the revised scales (Stanford-

[4] J. Harold Williams, The intelligence of the delinquent boy. *J. Delinq Monogr.*, No. 1, 1919, p 36

[5] Norman Fenton, *et al*, *The delinquent boy and the correctional school*. Claremont, Calif.: Claremont Colleges Guidance Center, 1935, p. 65

[6] Burt reports an average I Q. of approximately 89 for his London Juvenile Court cases tested on his English Revision of the Binet Scale

Binet 1937) which have more top and are better adapted for use with adolescents and young adults, we are able to secure a more adequate measure. These findings we shall consider in more detail.

Delinquents who are tested because they have been referred to a clinic do not represent a fair sample of the cases who come into juvenile court. The basis on which such cases are chosen constitutes a selective factor which may bias any obtained findings especially with respect to such a factor as intelligence. For example, the thousand juvenile delinquents of the Glueck study were boys who had been referred by the Boston Juvenile Court for study and treatment by the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic.[7] The boys who were selected for referral to that clinic were boys about whom the judge felt puzzled or in whose case he noticed some obvious physical or mental defect. Later he developed the policy of sending to the clinic for special study children who had prior records of delinquency, or who were retarded in school, or about whom some question of health had been raised. The critics who raised such dismal outcries over "the failure of the juvenile court" because of the report of these authors that they found that such a large percentage of their selected cases continued to be maladjusted even after treatment by this outstanding court and clinic missed the point that these were not representative court cases. These cases were, of course, more predisposed to continued maladjustment than are the generality of juvenile court cases.

Intelligence test scores of delinquents and non-delinquents

We have found that there are more defectives among all groups of apprehended delinquents than among public-school children. Obviously, the only offenders about whom

[7] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *One thousand juvenile delinquents*, p 30

we have information are the ones who come into court. There are selective processes determining which of our young offenders comes into court, as we have already seen — socio-economic factors, for example, that operate to select children from poorer homes, not because they are poor and cannot buy favors that the rich and influential can command, but because their parents are not in a position to offer, without the help of the court, the facilities that may contribute to a better adjustment. So it must be emphasized that perhaps we shall never have a truly "representative sample" of juvenile delinquents.

We shall examine the data presented by one study, besides our own, which reports the results of testing consecutive referrals to a juvenile court and which makes use of the Revised Stanford-Binet for examination of its cases [8] This study reports the results of the examination of 1731 delinquent boys and girls who appeared before the Los Angeles Juvenile Court over a two-and-a-half-year period. The average I.Q. of this group was found to be approximately 85. Twenty-three per cent of the group had I.Q.'s that fell below 70. Twenty-one per cent had I.Q.'s of 100 or above. The extremes of the I.Q. distribution were 40 and 130. In view of the fact that the average intelligence rating of this group is lower than we should expect on the *Revised* Stanford-Binet Scale and lower than the average intelligence score of our own cases, let us see whether there are other factors that might account for the difference. Such a factor appears in certain significant differences in nationality composition of the two groups — that is, between X County in Northern California and Los Angeles County. Los Angeles, according to the Wickersham report, *Crime and the Foreign Born*, is the largest center of Mexican population in the United

[8] Cecil W. Mann and Helene Powner Mann, Age and intelligence of a group of juvenile delinquents. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol*, 1939, **34**, 351–360.

States.[9] The study does not report nationality figures, but even if Mexican children were not represented in the juvenile court to any greater extent than their representation in the general population of the county, they would still constitute about 17 per cent of the cases.[10] In addition, the Mexicans who come to the United States are for the most part unskilled laborers and they are under the handicap of lack

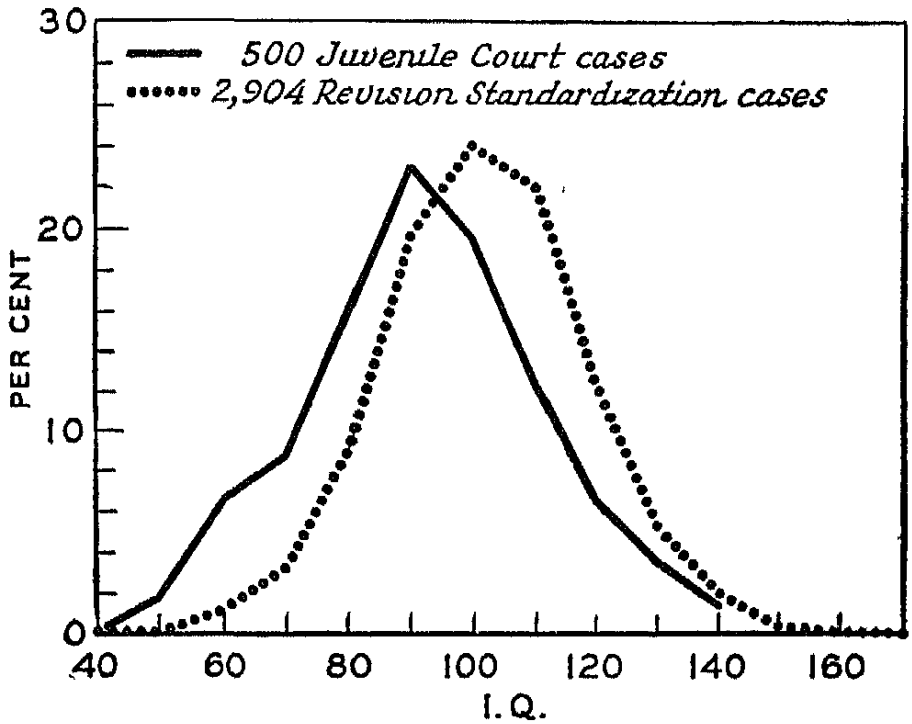


FIGURE 13
I.Q. DISTRIBUTION

Of 500 consecutive juvenile court referrals compared with 2904 unselected children. Average I.Q. of delinquents 92.5. Average I.Q. of unselected children 101.8.

[9] Paul T. Taylor, Crime and the foreign born the problem of the Mexican, in the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement Report on *Crime and the foreign born.* Washington, D.C.. United States Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 211

[10] A special school census of the Los Angeles city elementary schools revealed that, at the time of the report (1931), 17 1 per cent of the children were Mexican. *Loc. cit.*

of facility with the English language. These factors, which tend to be associated with low intelligence ratings, would tend to weight the results in the direction of lowering the average for the Los Angeles group.

We have for cases referred to the X County Juvenile Court records of five hundred consecutive examinations on the Revised Stanford-Binet. The results of these examinations of juvenile court cases we have compared with the distribution of I Q.'s of the approximately three thousand school children upon whom the Stanford-Binet was standardized (Fig. 13). The average I.Q. of the delinquents is 92.5, that of the American-born white children of the Revision standardization group 101.8. This is a statistically significant difference in the direction of greater intellectual inferiority of the delinquent group, but this mean is within the range of normal or average intelligence, which, we have seen, includes the I Q range 90 to 110.

The percentage of cases falling within a given I.Q. classification is shown for the delinquent and Revision groups in Table 21. That there are more mental defectives among our

TABLE 21 **PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF I.Q.'S IN DELINQUENT AND STANDARDIZATION GROUPS**

I.Q.	Percentage of Delinquents	Percentage of Standardization Group	CLASSIFICATION
	N = 500	N = 2904	
140 and above	1 0	1.3	Very superior
120–139	6 8	11 3	Superior
110–119	9 4	18.2	High average
90–109	39 0	46.5	Normal or average
80– 89	18.6	14 5	Low average
70– 79	13 6	5 6	Borderline defective
Below 70	11 6	2 6	Mentally defective

juvenile court cases than among public-school children in general is true of this group of delinquents, as it has been found to be true of other groups of delinquents. Other things being equal, the defective is more likely to get caught than the normal child. The defective child is more likely to come from inadequate home surroundings which makes the filing of a petition for him in the juvenile court more likely to be resorted to than in the case of normal children. He is more likely, too, to be a school misfit and to be referred to the juvenile court for that reason. Burt in 1925 reported about 8 per cent of his London delinquents to be mentally defective.[11] Healy and Bronner (1926) found 13.5 per cent of their juvenile court cases mentally defective,[12] and the percentage of defectives (13.1) reported by Glueck and Glueck (1934), also among juvenile court cases, agrees with the Healy and Bronner figures.[13]

Another fact concerning the intelligence of delinquents deserves as much emphasis as the fact that there are children of low intelligence among delinquents — that is the fact that there are children of superior and very superior intelligence among them. Herbert (page 142) is a case in point. That our social organization offered a boy of that mental caliber no more adequate satisfactions gives us pause. No wonder we like the comfortable rationalization that there must be something mentally wrong with a boy who is a delinquent.

Further information concerning intelligence test scores of delinquents comes from the delinquents and non-delinquents of our matched groups. Our three hundred delinquent boys and girls were originally examined by means of the 1916 Stanford-Binet scale; the three hundred controls

[11] *Op. cit*, p 286
[12] *Delinquents and criminals, their making and unmaking*, p. 183.
[13] *One thousand juvenile delinquents*, p 102

were examined with the same scale. These two groups were not significantly different in intelligence test scores on this scale. The control group had a higher average I.Q. (89.3) than the delinquent group (86.7), but it was not enough higher so that we could be reasonably sure the difference might not be due to chance factors. The reason for the low average I.Q. level of the control group was that we chose for our control group boys and girls from the same communities and the same schools from which our delinquents came. This meant that the poorer school districts were represented in a larger number of instances than the better school districts, more junior-high-school sixteen-year-olds than senior-high sixteen-year-olds, more fourteen-year-olds who were still in the elementary school, and so forth. Nevertheless, there were nearly twice as many children whose I.Q. was below 70 in the delinquent group than there were in the control group.

In the follow-up study, the two hundred young adults whom we were able to contact of our two groups were re-examined with the more adequate revised scale. The delinquents of our follow-up group have, on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale, a mean I.Q. of 98.4, whereas the mean I.Q. of the non-delinquents who were contacted was found to be 107.3. This difference is statistically significant.[14] The delinquents whose after-careers were studied are more nearly representative of the original three hundred from whom they were drawn than are the boys of the control group, at least as far as intelligence is concerned. I.Q.'s on the 1916 scale failed to reveal intellectual differences in an adolescent group. Table 22 shows the classification of I.Q.'s on the revised scale for the two follow-up groups.

All of our data support the conclusion that there are more mental defectives among groups of delinquents than in pub-

[14] See Appendix C, Table 3

TABLE 22 **100 DELINQUENTS COMPARED WITH 100 NON-DELINQUENTS AT THE YOUNG-ADULT LEVEL**

I.Q.	DELINQUENTS	CONTROLS
140 and above	1	2
120–139	18	28
110–119	13	19
90–109	33	31
80– 89	16	10
70– 79	10	8
Below 70	9	2
Total	100	100

lic-school populations. The determination of how many more depends upon the adequacy of our measuring scales for discriminating intellectual differences at the adolescent and young-adult age levels. In an unselected juvenile court group we have found approximately 11 per cent to be below 70 I.Q. on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale.

Intelligence and type of offense

Since the days of Goring's study, *The English Convict* (1913), there has been a persistent tendency to attempt to relate the type of offense to the intelligence level of the offender. Thus forgery and fraud have been regarded as offenses which are committed by the more intelligent of the criminals, whereas sex crimes and crimes of violence were supposed to be associated more closely with low intelligence. Evidence for such conclusions has usually been based on statistics furnished by the examination of adult criminals. Forgery and fraud are not children's offenses. Among five hundred children's cases, which I have analyzed to determine the relationship of intelligence to type of of-

fense, there are in all only eight cases of forgery. The pattern of sex behavior of the adult charged with sexual crimes differs in essential ways from that of the adolescent. Society defines as "delinquent" in the child or adolescent behavior which in the adult is socially acceptable — being beyond parental control, habitually truant from school, attaining sexual goals by direct means, and exploratory sex behavior.

The most frequent sex offender seen in the juvenile court is the adolescent subnormal girl. Abel and Kinder point out that

> there is no basis for accurate comparison of normal and subnormal adolescents with respect to delinquent behavior. Characteristics which serve to protect a girl from delinquency — especially sex delinquency — are found more frequently in girls of average intelligence. Not only are they less easily led than subnormal girls, they can be more discriminating in selecting those with whom they wish to associate. Because she is less rigid in her thinking and acting, the delinquent behavior of the intelligent girl is more apt to be incidental . . . Moreover, if she does get into trouble, she has more resources at her disposal for getting out of her difficulties. The more intelligent sex delinquent has greater knowledge of contraceptive methods, of ways and means of obtaining an abortion, and is also better able to get a man to share in the responsibility of solving their mutual problem.[15]

Adolescents, we have already seen, are adults in physical status, but, in our culture, are still denied adult social status and prerogatives.

The classification of children's offenses in relation to I.Q. has little meaning. For example, Bill is brought into court charged with being beyond parental control. Specifically,

[15] Theodora M. Abel and Elaine F. Kinder, *The subnormal adolescent girl.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp 142–143.

he has run away from home, he has had duplicate keys made to the diet kitchen and sold them to other boys, he threw overage eggs all over the principal's parked car, and with the family car — borrowed without permission — he ran over and broke off a valuable shade tree on Mr. B.'s lawn when he skidded too fast around a corner and lost control of his car. Jerry, Jane, and Sadie are before the court. Each has been charged with a sex offense. Jerry took a woman's silk undergarment from a line, used it for masturbation and threw it into a trash can. Jane is pregnant and unmarried and is protecting her "boy-friend" by refusing to tell who he is. Sadie (aged 14) is "working" at Rosie's place, went out with one of Rosie's patrons for a ride and was involved in an automobile wreck. All are charged with "sex offenses." Certain classifications are, of course, much more definite.

An examination of the data, yielded by a classification of five hundred offenses according to the I.Q. of the young offender,[16] furnishes little positive support to the belief that type of offense is related to level of intelligence. One reason for this is that children in our groups steal — and, also, do a few other things for which they are brought into court. Stealing constitutes nearly 60 per cent of the offenses and a breakdown of offenses into even eight categories means that only about three of the categories include enough cases to enable us to make valid observations concerning the relationships sought. However, it is interesting to note that the trends observable in our classifications are not inconsistent with the belief that in the case of children brought into juvenile court certain types of offenses occur with greater frequency in the lower I.Q. groups whereas others occur more frequently in the higher I.Q. groups. For each offense category, we counted the number of cases whose I.Q. fell below the mean of our group and the number above the

[16] Cf. Appendix D, Table 3

mean. We found that in the forgery, parental control, and malicious mischief categories there were more children whose I.Q. was above the average of the delinquent group than there were below. The sex, truancy, vagrancy, and assault categories show the reverse tendency, that is, more of the children whose offenses fall into these groups are below the average I.Q. of our delinquents than are above it. In the stealing category, which includes the majority of the cases, there is little difference in the percentages of cases above and below the average.

Abrahamsen attempts to relate the type of crime to the total personality of the offender, considering intelligence, not in isolation, but in relation to the whole personality. He points out that:

> Usually the crime chosen is typical of the person who perpetrates it. A person with a low I.Q. will in most cases commit a simple offense, like breaking through a window and taking some insignificant objects, or stealing a car, leaving it and then running away . . . Even in the cases where circumstances seem to be determining, personality factors lurk in the background.[17]

With this general viewpoint, many years of experience in working with children both in and out of the juvenile court leads me to agree.

Here are two feebleminded boys, who behave in ways determined by the personality of each.

Sol was brought into court charged with battery. He did not understand very much about it and had a vague, inarticulate sense of being unjustly treated. If he could just explain that it was not his fault, maybe they would let him go home. He wanted to be home so he could feed his rabbits and the goats. He likes to dig in the fields, too, but

[17] *Op cit.*, p 22

they make him go to school, and school is such a hard place in which to get along. At fifteen he found himself hopelessly beyond his depth in the sixth grade. Then, too, the kids at school teased him. They called him "Gorilla" and then sudden hot anger would energize him to strike out at them.

That was the trouble, that boy called him a gorilla and then Sol had hit him with a rock. Frightened and bewildered, Sol had protested that it was not his fault. But nobody ever paid much attention to what Sol tried to say, and they brought him to court charged with battery.

That was five years ago. Sol does not go to school any more, but he has not changed much. His I.Q. is still 58. He still feels himself to be at a disadvantage and is vaguely unhappy and uncomfortable. He is not very sure of himself and not very sure of his uncomprehending and incomprehensible world. His parents pay little attention to him. He likes his father, Sol says, "when he talks," but sometimes he dislikes him, "because he don't talk all day long — maybe for two or three days." And Sol likes to have a good time more than his folks do and his mother is "always arguing with all of us." And now he doesn't have a job. He works picking pears — it is about the only kind of job he has and the pears are not ready. It is a difficult world for Sol. He is, somehow, always at a disadvantage in it and he does not know how to set it right.

Frank, on the other hand, is as irresponsibly *en rapport* with his world as Sol is maladapted to his, a difference not to be accounted for by Frank's two-I.Q.-point superiority! In spite of the fact that Frank has been a repeated offender, he is making a more satisfactory personal adjustment than is the emotionally unstable Sol with similar intellectual capacity.

Frank's offenses have all involved the direct satisfactions of immediate needs. His standard of conduct requires the

attainment of no remote goals. With low levels of aspiration, he has fewer failures and more satisfactions.

His behavior, from his own point of view, is perfectly justifiable. There is more, too, than an easy rationalization in the explanation that "another boy told me to take them shoes from the car." There is a kind of "moral obligation to carry out a request,"[18] but there is, also, an element of "blame avoidance" in ascribing responsibility to someone else. Frank has no anxieties and no guilt feelings.

Frank has a job when he is contacted by the interviewer five years after his last juvenile court appearance. He is seldom out of work. Perhaps there is a tension-releasing function in the kind of work he does. He manipulates a jackhammer and spends his days breaking up old paving in sidewalks, with a terrific clatter; surely he has in his jackhammer a powerful device for the release of aggressive impulses! At any rate, Frank is untroubled and content with no ambitions beyond the moment.

Intelligence and recidivism

If intellectual factors were causally related to delinquent behavior to any considerable extent one would expect to find the intelligence of children who commit repeated offenses lower than the average for delinquents in general and significantly lower than the intelligence level of single offenders. The evidence here is inconclusive because the results reported by the various investigators are contradictory. Again there appears to be, as in the case of intelligence and type of offense, a difference between adult offenders and juvenile delinquents.

[18] Abel and Kinder point out this same characteristic in their discussion in *The subnormal adolescent girl.* " 'What could I do when he asked me to meet him at the drug store at six? He asked me, didn't he?' . . Apparently, these girls felt some sort of moral obligation to carry out a request in addition to their interest in the situation." (p. 139)

Mann and Mann found that 428 recidivists had a lower mean I.Q. (approximately 78) than the 1731 delinquents (mean I.Q. 84) of their Los Angeles Juvenile Court study.[19] Glueck's recidivists deviated in the same direction,[20] but Lane and Witty found no difference between their recidivists and single offenders,[21] and our data [22] also show no significant differences between the two groups (Table 23).

TABLE 23 **I.Q.'S OF RECIDIVISTS AND SINGLE OFFENDERS ON THE 1916 STANFORD-BINET**

I Q	SINGLE OFFENDER		RECIDIVIST	
110 and above	N 13	% 9 7	N 14	% 11.4
90–109	47	35.1	37	30.1
80– 89	22	16.4	21	17.1
70– 79	25	18.7	27	21.9
Below 70	27	20.1	24	19.5
Total	134	100.0	123	100 0

Herbert, whose intelligence is in the top 1 per cent of the general population, is a repeated offender and has served a term in the state reformatory; Janko, at the opposite pole of the intelligence distribution, well within the bottom 1 per cent of the generality, keeps repeating his offenses, too. Janko is a boy whose appearance belies his imbecile level of intelligence. Stature, speech, and gait seem normal, but he has never been able to learn even under the modified training conditions of a special-class group in the public schools and he is easily excited to violent and destructive behavior.

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp 351–360

[20] Eleanor T. Glueck, Mental retardation and juvenile delinquency. *Ment. Hyg*, 1935, **19**, pp. 549–572.

[21] H. A Lane and P. A. Witty, The mental ability of delinquent boys. *J juv. Res.*, 1935, **19**, pp. 1–12

[22] See Appendix B for comparisons between recidivists and single offenders.

The case of Janko, it would seem, should offer no problem of social adjustment because he is not a boy who could adjust without institutional supervision. Some imbeciles do survive outside of institutions, but they are the docile ones who are amenable to the close parental supervision suited to their developmental level. Janko is an excitable imbecile whose appearance is normal. But the problem of Janko is not Janko himself with his 36 I.Q. and his compulsive bicycle-stealing, it is Janko's family, who do not accept Janko's deficiencies.

Janko is the only son of foreign-born parents who speak little English. There are girls in the family, but Janko is the man child and can do no wrong. "He knocked down and nearly choked another child? Oh, no," the older sister spokesman assures us, "Janko means no harm, he is just playing and does not know his strength. He is a good boy. He is just like the little Jesus, he goes to church every Sunday."

From their point of view unreasonably persecuted, the family moves from one community to another seeking to protect the only son from the complaints of each outraged community. Completely blinded by their fierce and unreasoning loyalty to this imbecile boy, they themselves make him dangerous. When he is committed at last to a custodial institution for defectives, they neither sleep nor eat until they get him released by the simple techniques of the child who makes himself so obnoxious to the adults who have him in charge that he is given his own way for the sake of peace at any price.

Strange, indeed, in an American setting is this Old World pattern of loyalties. In this family it has meant acceptance of the always severe and often cruel demands of the undisputed domination of the father head of the household, as well as a devotion, fanatical in its intensity, to an only

son whose deficiencies could not even be faced, still less accepted. In that household it was not blasphemy to say that he was just like Jesus.

Herbert has elaborate rationalizations of his behavior and a philosophy of life which accepts his antisocial acts. Janko has no comprehension at all of his behavior. His world is his immediate surroundings. He sees a bicycle, wants it, takes it. No unpleasant consequences which have followed have ever been related by Janko to this act of taking bicycles. The consequences have been too remote. Janko can be prevented from taking bicycles, perhaps trained not to take them, but not by his family.

Intelligence and adjustment

To say that there is no conclusive evidence that, on the average, the intelligence of recidivists is no lower (and no higher) than of delinquents in general is not to say that intelligence is not an important factor in adjustment. In the case of Susan (Chapter 2, page 53), we have seen how disastrous it was to be "just average" in a household where the everyday levels of aspiration were on a plane where average intelligence fails to function.

One of the important factors in our adjustment ratings of the delinquent and non-delinquent boys of our follow-up study was the extent to which in the case of each his vocational goals were not inconsistent with his general level of ability. During the interview with each boy, there was opportunity for the interviewer to get what one might call the feel of the boy's orientation toward his own goals, how his present job or his present plans for study fitted into his objectives, and how well integrated the pattern of this orientation was in terms of actual assets as far as general intelligence can be said to represent such assets. Percy, for example (page 125), represents a poorly adjusted (non-de-

linquent) person in terms of his vocational goals, present orientation, and level of aspiration in view of his general level of ability. At twelve, Alfred with an I.Q. of 86 wanted to be a lawyer; at seventeen, he wants to be an aviator and gave the naval recruiting officer an assumed name and incorrect age to attain his objective. Joe (I.Q. 71) at twenty-three is a seasonally employed fruit worker. Joe likes the simple things and with considerable insight and practicality seems to realize they are all he will ever attain. He expects to work in the fruit and wants sometime to be a night watchman at the plant. There are good and poor adjustments of vocational goals and orientation in relation to general intelligence.

Our two groups are significantly different with respect to the extent to which the control boys are better adjusted in terms of the relation between their vocational goals and level of intelligence.

We can now fill in further details in our frame of reference for intelligence. We have said that it must always be evaluated in reference to the total personality. As measured in terms of I.Q., intelligence has little relation to the choice or persistence of a criminal career. Of young people who break the law, we have more opportunities to observe the behavior of the less intelligent than of the more intelligent. In the total pattern of personality of which it is a part, intelligence often plays a crucial role in relation to delinquent behavior; it never plays an isolated role.

7

MOTIVATION [1]

THE problem of motivation is the problem of why people behave the way they do. The motives back of delinquent behavior are what people are most concerned to know about. In the case of our Eagle Scout who stole the candy, we saw that an understanding of motives, literally moving forces which activate behavior, involved an investigation of *needs,* things that this person in this situation wanted. If we would discover the reasons for behavior, we must seek to determine what needs of the person are being served. In this chapter we shall consider what needs of the child are served by delinquent behavior. The problem of the motivation of delinquent behavior is particularly puzzling because the relationship of the delinquent act to the need it serves and to the goal achieved is not always obvious.

Let us first consider certain characteristics of needs in relation to behavior. The delinquent act of our Eagle Scout occurred in response to the demands of a certain social situation, the situation presented by the interaction of the need to maintain status in the presence of an admired own-age

[1] An excellent brief account of the psychology of motivation will be found in *Introduction to psychology* (edited by E. G. Boring, H S. Langfeld, and H. P. Weld), New York. Wiley; the section on "Motivation," pp. 146–182 by MacKinnon, whose concepts I have applied to the situation presented by the delinquent and his needs.

companion. There is the need for recognition of the self as a "regular fellow"; there is the lure of excitement promised by dangerous adventure; and there is even an element of one of the primary needs in this highly motivated, largely social situation, that is the physiological hunger drive, the desire, for once, to have all the candy you can eat. Needs are related to the environment; in delinquency, particularly to the social environment.

But needs are culturally determined, that is, in our society there are norms of behavior which not only determine, to a large extent, what its members need, but also specify that certain goals may be sought and that others may not. The situation for our boy presents elements of conflict. On the other hand, in his social milieu stealing is not done and he is not a person who steals; on the other hand, he is offered an opportunity for excitement and adventure with little chance of being found out and an easy rationalization — a reason acceptable to his self-esteem — in the excuse of getting out and learning about life. In this situation, then, activities which ordinarily repelled or had a negative value acquired in relation to personal needs an attracting character.

This brings us to another characteristic of needs in relation to behavior. Needs are constantly changing. The same activities in a psychological field, when restructured in relation to other conflicting needs, assume entirely different properties. Children need the security of affection and parental approval. Under the threat of loss of security in parental approval, loss of prestige in leadership achievement in the school environment, and loss of self-esteem through the repudiation of the delinquent act by part of the personality, these same activities now acquire a strongly negative value upon discovery of the episode.

Needs, too, are interrelated. As one becomes greater,

another lessens. The threat to his security and loss of self-esteem sent our Eagle Scout's immediate needs for excitement and adventure down to zero as his needs for security and affection went up.

Learning is involved in the relationship of needs to behavior. Under pressure of his needs, a child can modify his behavior. He can, like Tommy, under the pressure of his need for recognition, become an increasingly skillful burglar when no substitute satisfaction ever rivals the satisfactions derived from his antisocial acts. Sometimes, too, a boy "perceives a relationship suddenly" and acts differently about it ever after; that is insight. Our Eagle Scout has never been brought into court again, nor has he been shot in the act of burglarizing a house.

Ways of reacting to frustration and conflict

We have already noted that adolescence marks a stage in the development of youth that is characterized particularly by tension and stress, a period full of frustrating situations. In the process of changing from childish ways to the ways of a man, a boy's personal world is full of contradictions. He needs to demonstrate that he is a regular fellow and he seeks all the candy he can eat! He needs adult approval, but he needs, also, the approval of his own-age companions which demands his independence of grown-ups — sometimes even direct conflict with adult-approved ways of behaving. He has to prove that he is not a "sissy," that he can "get out and learn about life" even if it takes a burglary to do it.

Parents are continually creating frustrating situations by refusing to recognize the demands, on the part of their children, of growing up. There are always so many "things children can't do because they aren't old enough" in the parents' eyes. The needs of one bright fourteen-year-old, who looked about ten, and his strivings to satisfy those needs in

the face of parental restrictions are tellingly revealed in his comments on the pictures of a comic-strip series projective test.[2]

One of the pictures is of Superman in mid-flight. Robin looks at the picture, then throws it down on the table with the comment, "Humph, he thinks he's so smart and everybody else can do that, too." The transference of his own emotionally toned reaction to a situation presenting a display of power on the part of a superior being comes out in what the psychologist calls a displacement of his own feeling to this external object.

Response to parental domination may be an out and out rebellion or a degree of compliance which results in a serious arrest of personality development. The boy who runs away from home under the stress of parental restrictions is making a more adequate adjustment than the boy who becomes so completely dependent that he, like our Alvin, who at fourteen was being taken back and forth to school by his grandmother, has no personal existence apart from his parents.

The aggressive reaction to frustration arising out of parental attitudes may be only the insurgence of the familiar "struggle of youth for emancipation" or it may be real rebellion, marked by all of the symptoms of revolt against tensions which have grown too irksome to bear without a disruption of the whole adjustment system. The compliant reaction may be no such distortion of normal personality as Alvin displayed, but only the overdependence on parental approval that avoids failure by withdrawing from competition, that projects responsibilities to others, exaggerates difficulties to excuse lack of effort, and, in general, avoids failure by not trying.

And it is, of course, not his home alone, but the young

[2] Unpublished test in process of standardization.

person's whole broadening social world that presents areas of conflict and frustrating experiences. There are the experiences of success and failure associated with his acceptance or non-acceptance in the companionship groups that he wants to belong to. Susan's stealing has no meaning in terms of economic need. Her parents are wealthy, but, in terms of unsatisfied needs for belongingness in a superior-status family and companionship group, the stealing and the low-status companions are meaningful. Stealing is one way of punishing superior parents who expect too much, so are inferior companions. Susan had no in-group feeling, no sense of "belongingness" either in her home or with the socially acceptable daughters of her parents' friends. None of his schoolmates liked Tommy, but he was regarded with awe and fear by the boys who were intimidated by his adventures in crime. Wilmer defended his inferiority with bullying behavior; he hit the smaller boys; he was always breaking up the games; he must always be the braggart, the tough guy.

Children, too, need to satisfy their curiosities and ignorance about sex. This they usually do in socially disapproved ways. Indeed, most of their sources of information are forbidden ways. Parents are reluctant to discuss with their children matters that are for themselves so emotionally charged, or they pass on to their children their own inadequacies and folkways of thinking about sex matters. Masturbatory activities, associated with the child's explorations of his own body or the bodies of his playmates, are invested for many parents with the direst threats, especially when masturbation arouses their own childhood memories. It is the faults in ourselves, which we cannot acknowledge, of which we are most intolerant in others. This projection of a trait or motive in which a person feels, but cannot face, his own inferiority is a common mechanism of defense, especial-

ly in matters associated with sex activities. One foster mother who came to my clinic with a three-year-old court ward who had been placed in her home was so exercised over the child's masturbation that, while she was devoted to the child, she could not accept any training program based on an understanding of the child's deep need for the security of a home where she could be sure of being loved and not blamed and punished for her faults. In the three short years of the child's life she had made emotional investments in four different mothers only to have each in turn fail her. The foster mother who brought her to the clinic had to give up the child because the mother herself projected her own lack of adjustment to the child's difficulty.

Many of the adolescents who come into the juvenile court charged with sex offenses are simply seeking directly the immediate goals of their awakening sexual needs. Lacking adequate information and the restraints of later maturity, they seek immediate satisfactions without regard to the consequences for themselves or for other people. That the delinquent girls, particularly, are less inhibited in sex activities and are more apt to be direct actionists than are girls who do not come into court seems to be an obvious inference from the frequency with which delinquent girls are charged with sex offenses. In our group, sex offenses constitute about 40 per cent of the offenses for which girls were referred, and sex delinquency is a factor in many other cases where the complaint has been that the girl was beyond parental control. In other juvenile court groups, the percentages vary from 30 to 75, with the greatest frequency at about 50 per cent.

Girls in the juvenile court present a very bland exterior. The *persona* they face the world with — that is the world of adult authority — is so blameless, their judgments so socially correct, their copybook-maxim philosophy so faultless,

their repentance so tearfully appropriate that, except by roundabout ways, one seldom faces a real person. Here, especially, the projective methods promise much. A few of the contrasts that came out of the study of attitudes and interests (Chapter 9) contribute to an understanding of this direct satisfaction of immediate needs which seems, more than is the case with the boys, to distinguish the girl offender. Seeking to characterize the tastes, likes, and dislikes in reading interests and moving-picture preferences of our delinquent in comparison with our non-delinquent girls, we found that the non-delinquent girls were the ones who preferred emotional fiction and in their tastes in movies showed a highly significant difference in the extent to which they liked to see on the screen romantic, emotional scenes. Here we have a very pretty bit of evidence that our delinquent girls differ from their non-delinquent neighbors in the extent to which they are living their own romantic fiction and do not need the substitute satisfactions of screen and story. Abel and Kinder, too, found that:

> The truly delinquent girl (one with no more psychopathological symptoms than may be found in the general run of the population) solves her more serious emotional problems and attains some of her goals by her modes of behavior: she runs away from intolerable situations . . .; she attains material goods by stealing and her love object by direct sexual intercourse, . . . she is able to give herself up wholeheartedly to attaining the more immediate goals that bring her some degree of satisfaction.[3]

Many adolescents are faced with social and economic responsibilities beyond their years. We have seen that these situations are found with greater frequency in the homes of delinquents than in those of their non-delinquent contem-

[3] *Op. cit*, p 136

poraries. There, too, are to be found frustrating experiences, emotional tensions and humiliations, growing out of poverty and low status. The necessity for getting a job and becoming self-supporting, which, too, involves many ego-deflating experiences, grows out of the broken home situations and economic instability that characterize the background of delinquents.

Yet, always, when we center our attention on such factors as these economic and social conditions that exist in the homes of delinquents, we have need to remind ourselves that in nearly every home where there is a delinquent child there is another child who is not delinquent. There our problem is to understand why that other child is not delinquent, too.

The psychologists have a concept that is called *frustration tolerance* that offers light on the non-delinquent in the delinquent home. The frustration tolerance of an individual is that amount of increased tension resulting from frustration that he can tolerate without a breakdown or disorganization of his responses.

> Tension (resulting from a prolonged blocking of a strong need) increased beyond a certain point results in a failure of adjustment of the organism to the requirements of the situation. . . . The frustration tolerance of an individual is exceeded in all cases in which the increased tension resulting from frustration causes the individual to react inadequately to the situation.[4]

Karl's twin half-brothers were well-adjusted boys who never gave anybody any trouble. They were secure in the favor and affection of their mother, whereas Karl, rejected by his mother, suffered from his infancy the frustration of his powerful need for security. He reacted to this thwarting of deep

[4] Reprinted by permission from *Introduction to psychology* by Boring, Langfeld, and Weld, published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939, p. 176

emotional needs by withdrawing behavior of such a serious nature as to distort his whole personality and by delinquent behavior. His tolerance for frustration was exceeded.[5]

Some children react in ways that serve as substitute satisfactions of frustrated needs. The child who adjusts to a foster home and foster mother after loss of his own is modifying his behavior in such a way as to effect a satisfaction of frustrated needs

Crying, reacting with temper tantrums, and going back to less mature ways of behaving, such as bedwetting, are children's ways of reacting to events that exceed frustration tolerance. When Teresa was born and, on account of her many severe childish illnesses, became the emotional center of the household, Pietro began wetting his bed again, and shortly the stealing at school began. Tension increased beyond a certain point results in a failure of adjustment to the requirements of the situation.

The concept of integration of motives

Meeting the requirements of life-situations involves not only satisfaction of motives, but the balancing of satisfactions in such a way that one need is not sacrificed for another. The delinquent girl whose direct satisfaction of sex need is achieved at the cost of illegitimate pregnancy and institutionalization is not adequately concerned with balancing her motives to secure the optimal satisfaction that constitutes well-adjusted behavior. Adequate social adjustment, in our culture, involves, too, a concern that the satisfaction of one's motives is not achieved at the expense of others. One of the shortcomings of delinquency as a mode of adjustment to life is that it involves the satisfactions of

[5] Healy and Bronner found that the chief difference between their delinquents and the non-delinquent siblings of their subjects was the presence in the delinquents of deep-lying emotional tensions. (*New light on delinquency and its treatment*, pp. 121–131.)

one person's needs without regard for those of others and without regard for the balancing of determinant against subsidiary needs of the delinquent person himself. The integration of motives is an important consideration in motive satisfaction and in the achievement of remote goals as well as immediate satisfactions.

It sometimes happens that a failure in the integration of his motives is the chief characteristic in the adjustments of an otherwise outstandingly acceptable personality. Such a person is *en rapport* in every social situation in which he finds himself. He is the indulged son of a proud mother, he is the most sought-after boy on the school playground; he is the adventurous leader of his gang; he is the penitent "tear-jerker" who swings the jury; he is the trusted prisoner. He has the correct social judgment for every situation in which he finds himself, but he "loves whate'er he looks on and his looks go everywhere."

Brad's need to be socially adequate to his immediate present has always been paramount. He is one of the most genuinely refreshing people I have ever met. Brad has that clear-eyed, fresh, out-of-doors look, a proud head carried high, a friendly ingenuous manner, quick wit and rather subtle humor. He has always known "how to make friends and influence people." One would say, meeting him, that he was almost a stereotype of the well-adjusted youth. Yet in four swift years he progressed in a criminal course from burglarizing the neighborhood grocery for cigarettes and candy at fifteen to serving a term in federal penitentiary for a hold-up and kidnaping at nineteen.

We find him, on our follow-up study, at his parents' home after serving what proved to be a short prison term. He has the same easy charm and outgoing frankness of his schoolboy days. The interviewer, skilled in the techniques of eliciting and interpreting attitudes and feelings, finds him, as al-

ways, the overtly well-adjusted person. He likes his job — not a very important one, to be sure, but Brad appears to regard it as a step to a better one. He is engaged to be married and really in love with the girl. His relationship to his parents seems to be now, as it has always been, one of genuine warmth and companionship. If his mother might have been too sure that Brad was never to blame, yet she was always *for* him, right or wrong, whatever he did. His older brother and younger sister were always Brad's pals, too. The atmosphere of home still has that one-for-all and all-for-one quality that builds emotional security.

Brad's attitude toward his former delinquencies is one of genuine regret — he is not the sinner haunted by an emotional burden of guilt, but the serious, right-thinking chap who is confident now (as, indeed, he always has been) of his ability to handle his behavioral adjustments. He is now twenty-one. Within six months of this last interview we are to find that Brad has married, his wife (pregnant) has returned to the home of Brad's parents, and Brad himself is serving another term in prison for burglary.

Was Brad's apparent frankness all "eye-wash"? Was he just "taking us all for a ride"? I think not. I think Brad has always belonged to his immediate present and responded to the stimuli which were functioning at the moment, without regard to the integration of his present motives with the demands of past and future wants. He lacks integration.[6]

His failure is a failure to organize his behavior in such a way that all of his needs are satisfied without undue emphasis or slighting of any motive. When the individual's interrelated needs are thus satisfied with consideration for the needs of others, he is said to have achieved a satisfactory adjustment.

[6] The concept of integration is discussed by L F Shaffer in his book, *Psychology of adjustment* Boston. Houghton Mifflin, 1936, pp 138, 382–387.

> The unintegrated person adjusts poorly because he cannot effectively combine his motives, his past experiences and the necessities of the present situation. [Lack of integration is] an important predisposing cause of disorders of conduct.[7]

Among the experiences which have been found to lead to a lack of integration are lack of guidance and absence of constructive discipline.

While the complexity of the interrelated factors which determine behavior should never be lost sight of, still we can with profit, in individual instances, fix our attention upon certain major strands in the behavior pattern. Brad's main failure, psychologically, was a failure to combine his motives – his past experiences and the necessities of his present situation. One of the motives which in Brad's case receives undue emphasis is the need for immediate personal-social satisfactions. Brad's behavior is motivated outstandingly by this need even when his behavioral response in a given situation shows striking lack of integration with his past experiences and future expectations.

The satisfaction of social approval he has always been able to secure, practically regardless of his behavior. First, it was his mother who always backed him up whatever he did – always stood between him and unpleasant social consequences

Later, when he went to school, he made a poor record because, while he was a bright boy[8] and capable of doing good work, he found too many alluring goals on the streets and in the woods and streams. The lure of adventure and wanderlust possessed him, and the immediate satisfactions afforded by the total school situation paled in contrast. Even while the teachers were irked by his truancy and his devilment in the classroom, they all liked Brad and gave him,

[7] *Loc cit.* [8] Brad's I Q. on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale is 131

though somewhat grudgingly, the secret admiration and warm friendliness that his genial personality unfailingly elicited. The other children liked him and applauded his daring. Whatever he did, there were no unpleasant consequences for Brad.

Still later, when his adventures brought him into conflict with the law, there were still no really unpleasant consequences, because in every social situation Brad responded in a manner which always elicited immediate social approval. See him as he appears in his last juvenile court contact. He is nearly seventeen. The charge is burglary. Genial and outgoing as ever, he is frank to admit the seriousness of his behavior. He is really concerned for the social consequences of his behavior, but always life has taught him that for him there are no unpleasant consequences. But his concern is on an intellectual level, and his feeling and will contradict his intellect. Here is, indeed, an antinomy — a contradiction between two principles each of which is taken to be true. So Brad can and does believe that he will *not* have to take what is coming to him and that he will take it like a man! And, as usual, he is right.

Convinced that unpleasant consequences must this time be attached to Brad's behavior, the court accepts the probation officer's report that arrangements have been undertaken for Brad to enter the naval training program, and the order is made accordingly. Weeks of negotiation drag along, and finally Brad is rejected by the Navy. By this time Brad is back in high school, and on the surface all is unruffled. Brad has the right affectional responses to a motherly chief probation officer, and well enough is let alone. Again his mother and his mother-image in the probation office agree that Brad is not really to blame and that anyway he is sorry and behaving like a lamb and there is no need to report to the court that its order was not carried out.

And there is the pattern — so far — of his adult criminal record. The offense for which he was given his first penal sentence was called a hold-up and kidnaping. Actually, Brad and his boy companion held up with faked guns a rural mail carrier and forced him to take them out of his way to their destination. The sentence was light and Brad was released before its expiration because of his "fine attitude and co-operative behavior."

Yes, Brad is one of the most genuinely refreshing, likable people I have ever met.

Defense mechanisms

Defense mechanisms are ways of behaving designed to deceive ourselves and others. Often our real motives are not acceptable to ourselves and, in order to protect our self-esteem, we do our best not to think about them. So we behave in ways designed to conceal from ourselves and others the needs that make us feel inadequate or inferior or ashamed.

Some of these mechanisms to protect the sensitive ego are just little smoke-screens to hide our weaknesses. An over-effusive manner hides the diffidence of the socially ill-at-ease person; the stilted conversation of the all-dressed-up adolescent making a social call is donned in defense of his diffidence; bluster and assertion of authority hide lack of assurance. Some of these involve elaborately organized systems of habits and attitudes which have been developed in the process of adjustment and have a large part in determining the character of personality.

Because some of our motives are in conflict with the needs we wish to recognize and because their satisfaction results in guilt feelings, we usually try to inhibit them and to behave as though they were not there. Sometimes the desire to repress them is so strong that we behave in ways exactly

opposite to the behavior indicated in the satisfaction of the need that is being repressed. Only in this case we betray ourselves by overdoing it. Pietro's mother was too rigid in doing what was best for the children she had not wanted. Being overzealous in their behalf, she could not allow them freedom for development, and, instead of giving them security, warped them to a procrustean frame of maternal solicitude. Repressed needs influence behavior in characteristic ways. Some of these needs and some of the characteristic ways of relieving tensions, the common defense mechanisms, we shall explore in relation to the antisocial behavior of the individual delinquent.

Excessively aggressive behavior, bullying, hitting, defying authority, is a frequent form of defense against inferiority. Wilmer's highly organized defense mechanisms, typical of the bully, were efforts to hide feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

Wilmer comes to us first when he is sixteen and already a delinquent in the community in which he has been living, where he has been twice in juvenile court, once for as serious an offense as stealing a car. His Russian father is a believer in firm discipline, meager living, and tough-fibered people, but the Canadian mother is soft. She stands between her sons, especially this troubled one, and the rigor of paternal discipline. Only Wilmer is troublesome and they cannot understand.

His troubles at school are not primarily scholastic, but arise in connection with his personal-social adjustments. Wilmer is the braggart, the bully, the tough guy. He is forever defying authority, to be defiant and to be beheld. He is rude; he hits smaller boys; he is always breaking up the games with complaints and quarrels. But when authority clamps down and he is faced not by a group of terrified school children, but by a powerful authoritarian adult, then

he bursts into facile tears, complains that the kids on the playground tease him, that he is teased and badgered at home, and that it is not his fault.

See him before the court. He sits with shoulders and head bowed. He weeps. He cringes. Excuses bubble forth. He has learned now. He will promise anything. He only wants another chance. And, behind this façade of craven abasement, is Wilmer, observing the effect of this defense against his inferiority – perhaps a little less insecure here than in the presence of his ruthless own-age competitors on the school grounds.

So the court sees Wilmer in the manner of one who enters, for a few minutes, in the middle of the show. What happened at the beginning of the picture – those complex and multitudinous factors that determine the intricate pattern of the child's development – we can only infer. We know there was social inadequacy – poverty, low-status paternal occupation, conflict of culture patterns in the home. We know there was personal deficiency – mediocre intelligence and deficient accomplishment. In this frame of reference is the insecure Wilmer seeking to compensate in psychologically familiar ways for the inadequacies in himself which he cannot face.

One of the behavioral manifestations of Wilmer's ego-needs is a recurrent and unsatiated desire to drive a car. His self-esteem is never so enhanced as when he feels the power of an automobile engine in his hands. This form of ego-satisfaction has led Wilmer into persistent antisocial behavior since he was fourteen and stole his first car. The excitement of speed, the zest of danger, the sense of freedom from frustration enhance his ego more than any other accomplishment he has ever experienced.

It was the theft of a car that was the occasion of his first being brought into court. We see him again nearly five

years later. Wilmer has changed but little. This time the interviewer sees Wilmer in a prison cell. At the age of twenty he has been sentenced to state's prison following a series of car thefts. It is the old, insecure Wilmer. The braggart comes out in the interview, the rationalizer, the self-justifier in defense of his sensitive ego. Wilmer specializes in blaming others. It is the fault of his parsimonious father, "tight old son-of-a-gun," in Wilmer's phrase; his indulgent mother is to blame — "Any time I needed money she was right there to help — I don't like to say anything about my mother, but she pampered me too much" —; and there were his companions; he had, he says, "a chance to make good and didn't," because he "listened to guys brag and shouldn't have." Wilmer, the braggart!

If we see his bullying, his braggadocio, and his defiance of authority as well as his cringing and crying behavior, his self-justification, specious reasoning and blame avoidance for the defense mechanisms they are — if we see these mechanisms of adjustment in the frame of reference of his social environment and his own personal deficiencies, we can understand, too, the function of his delinquent behavior. Even the pattern of his delinquencies — the recurrent car-stealing, which was its most persistent form — is significant in the service of his need for ego-satisfaction.

Delinquent behavior and feelings of inferiority

When anybody keeps getting upset by recurrent failures, when, in the language of motivation, his needs are being constantly frustrated and the tensions created by his needs are not relaxed by the attainment of his goals, he is apt to develop a deep-seated sense of his own deficiencies. These deficiencies may be real or imaginary, they may be character traits, physical handicaps, or social and economic factors. The important thing to recognize is that the trouble

lies in the emotional attitude that the person takes toward what he believes to be the sources of his difficulties. Social situations, especially those involving competition or criticism, furnish the circumstances most frequently reacted to with fear of failure, hurt, or humiliation of the sensitive ego. Eventually, the situations which have been repeatedly associated with social inadequacies are regarded with habitual uncertainty and fear of exposure of the weaknesses of the self.

In such case, all sorts of tricks are resorted to in defense of one's weaknesses or inferiorities. Take our illustration of the boy who is failing in school. If it is possible to make a direct adjustment, the tension is released and all is well. He works a little harder or a lot harder, as the case may be, and makes passing grades. However, if that failure and other failures are adjusted to by excuse-making, or by withdrawing to a world of daydreams instead of coming to grip with the situation, by blaming the teachers, derogating the school, being troublesome in the classroom and on the playground, our boy is reacting by developing compensatory behavior.

The emotional attitude and the resulting habits of response to situations constituting a threat to the sensitive ego constitute the attitude of inferiority, popularly known as the inferiority complex.

What delinquent boys do about their inferiority feelings usually involves some form of aggression. There are ways of reacting that involve, besides a large component of aggressive behavior, many of the common attention-getting mechanisms of nonconforming behavior frequently resorted to by school children. Harry's behavior is fairly typical of this reaction pattern. We shall see how, in Harry's case, the negative responses of his childhood behavior were replaced by more socially acceptable ways of securing his satisfactions.

Delinquent behavior sometimes offers a way of resolving the tensions created by inferiority feelings through direct action. Our second boy, Mickey, needed adventure to compensate for the physical inferiorities of small stature and personal defects. His daydreaming was a prelude to real adventure.

Delinquency is sometimes incidental. Our goals may actually be unattainable, and our problem, in a given set of life-circumstances, may be to "make it fair up to our means." Serious disorders that warp the personality sometimes result from the combined conditions of our needs in relation to the inadequacy of our opportunities for their satisfaction. Karl, who is our third case, is full of inferiorities in the face of unattainable goals, but is maintaining a remarkable balance of adjustment.

Harry, Mickey, and Karl suffered from inferiority feelings. Each developed a different pattern of behavioral adjustments. Let us try to understand the adjustment of each according to his need.

Harry

Harry, when he is first brought into court at the age of twelve, has already been labeled a "problem child" at school and referred to the school clinic because of his troublesome behavior in class. This school behavior has always been of the attention-getting variety. He is noisy, talks continually, and is fond of dramatic recital. In the classroom he is a nonconformist — if the class is to write a composition, Harry wants to read; if they are to go out to the playground, Harry wants to stay inside — no matter what the situation, Harry must contribute to his prestige by drawing attention to himself.

The decision to refer Harry to the juvenile court came after two running-away episodes and thefts of money from

school and from an uncle — as Harry puts it, ego-protectively, "I borrowed money from my teacher and from my uncle without telling them."

As we see Harry at the age of twelve, he presents an almost classical picture of the attempt to adjust to inferiority feelings by resorting to defense mechanisms.[9] His scholarship is poor, but he is outstanding by reason of his negative and nonconforming behavior. Not a very adequate adjustment, but a pseudo-achievement, often like this of an aggressive character, serves as an outlet when real achievement is thwarted.

> The occurrence of defense mechanisms [Shaffer points out] is usually indicative of thwarting in the form of personal defect. Certain qualities of the individual result in social disapproval or in the thwarting of self-assertion or in both. This arouses a fear reaction and leads to inco-ordinated or unintegrated attempts to overcome the defect by the over-assertions of adequacy. The defense mechanisms, by reducing the fear tensions and satisfying the original drives lead to an adjustment of a sort.[10]

There is a history in Harry's case of prolonged physical disability. He has been delicate and physically under par to an extent that was thought to require special care in a preventorium, to attempt to build up his resistance. Physically inferior children often develop bullying behavior. Harry is described as "noisy, quarrelsome and disorderly and heartily disliked by other children." Deprived, by reason of his self-assertiveness, of the satisfactions that normally come from social participation, he resorts to fantasy, and through

[9] An account of the development and characteristics of the attitude of inferiority, together with a discussion of the defense mechanisms which are resorted to in the process of adjustment, will be found in Shaffer's *Psychology of adjustment*, pp. 143–172.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

his daydreaming achieves an unchallenged hero status in the world of his imagination.

Fantasy serves to satisfy basic motives, e.g., the fundamental need to achieve, and at the same time compensates for inferiority feelings. Though we know only a little about the content of Harry's fantasies,[11] we have evidence that in the main his daydreams were of the "suffering hero" type,[12] in which the dreamer is, though no fault of his own, always the innocent victim, the martyr, and brings, through his undeserved sufferings, confusion and remorse upon those who have wronged him. It represents the realization in fantasy of power and prestige through a more devious satisfaction, a satisfaction which results from exalting the hero by belittling and putting down the powerful person whose authority is a threat. A child can thus *without guilt* punish his parents through their own remorse for their injustices to him. The child who believes himself ill-treated at home runs away, is set upon by robbers, beaten and left dead by the roadside. His parents are overcome by remorse for their unkindness and injustice to their son. So Harry is always sorry for himself. His misfortunes are all undeserved and always someone else's fault. His self-pity is evident in his accounts of "being picked on," never "getting a break," and his tricks for outwitting teachers who impose on him. "Punishments," he says, "do me no good." (The implication is that these punishments are all undeserved and/or are out of all proportion to the offense.) And he adds a significant comment on punishment: "But I'd rather stay in bed all day (for punishment) because then I can dream and imagine things and get ideas in my head."

[11] At the time Harry was seen at the Juvenile Court Clinic we had not developed techniques, such as are now in use in psychological clinics, for tapping the rich and highly significant fantasy life of the individual in assessing his personality. Cf Projective techniques, pp. 41–52.

[12] Shaffer, *Psychology of adjustment*, pp. 191–192.

Harry has another adjustment resource of the inferiorit attitude, and that is the giving of socially acceptable reason for his behavior — the form of defense known as rationaliza tion. This is well illustrated by his descriptions of the steal ing episodes which resulted in his being brought into juve nile court as borrowing money from people without tellin them. "Rationalization operates in making excuses for be havior, in making it seem to conform to social usages, an also in explaining away inferiorities." [13]

The origins of some of Harry's ways of adjusting to th problems presented by his needs and his opportunities fo satisfying them may be briefly suggested by several factor in his home environment. We have already noted the funda mental problem created by his own physical inferiority. I addition are certain characteristics of parent-child relation ships and events of import in the life-history.

In regard to the former, we find that Harry's own adjust ments are affected (1) by the parents' tendency to excus Harry and hold the teacher responsible for his difficulties a school; (2) by the discussion of Harry's problems in his pres ence; and (3) by inadequate home discipline. Events o import in Harry's life-history include the death of his ow father when Harry was about six years old, his mother' remarriage, family financial reverses which resulted fro the step-father's loss of his job, debts and inadequate in come, and the fact that Harry's sister, two years his senior has never presented any difficulties of educational or socia adjustment.

Treatment procedures were directed toward efforts to pro vide socially acceptable means of gaining attention and to ward reduction of tension through controlling the environ ment. Modifications in both home and school environment reduced the tensions induced by circumstances that hac

[13] *Ibid*, p 168.

been constantly exceeding the child's frustration tolerance. Better understanding of Harry's assets and liabilities on the part of his parents and removal from a school situation where he had been classified on the basis of his social and academic failures removed some of the frustrations in Harry's life-situation.

There have been ups and downs of adjustment. The main outlines of Harry's personality have not changed, but in the course of the five years since Harry's court appearance the successes have increased. He is now adjusting to school without overt difficulty either academic or social. His parents have learned better how to live with Harry and he with them. There have been no further delinquencies.

Mickey

An odd little runt of a person is Mickey. Of the five children in the family he is the only difficult child, his mother says. The others are "well-behaved, mind promptly, and have no trouble at school" according to the formula for good children. Mickey's trouble at school is partly academic and partly social. There are so many things Mickey would like with all his heart to do and so few of them that anyone wants him to do. Mickey has always been a meager Oliver Twist chap with the adventurous soul of a D'Artagnan.

At the age of eleven, when he is first referred to the Juvenile Court Clinic, he is nearer the size of an eight-year-old than of boys his age. He is cross-eyed and blind in one eye, and he yearns for high adventure, prowess, and great deeds. He wants to be a soldier and he wants to drive high-powered racing cars. He cannot keep his mind on his arithmetic and reading – even geography is something where you name products and learn capitals, dull and profitless in competition with the far countries of his dreams. Nothing

that he does either at home or at school gains him any very satisfying status. The adults in his school world and at home are always wondering why Mickey does not do good work like John, his brother next older. Even little Bobby, three years younger than Mickey, is only half a grade behind him. Mickey is smart, too. His rating on intelligence tests shows him to be well above the average. The teachers say he won't work, does not pay attention, likes to play and idle away his time.

When he was eight years old he began to run away to go to the movies. There he sits through the same show, seeing the picture over and over with absorbed interest, completely identified with the intrepid screen hero until the show closes, the shadow world fades and he is again only "cross-eyed Mickey" who can't lick even the boys in Bobby's grade.

The treatment techniques appropriate in Mickey's case seem to be fairly clearly indicated. They consist, essentially, in providing opportunities for satisfying, in acceptable ways, his need for personal prestige. We cannot make him any taller, nor can we provide him with the physique and trappings of a fourth musketeer. The school sometimes plays a significant role in personality and conduct disorders where it succeeds in providing challenging but satisfying tasks. In Mickey's case, the modification of school procedures to serve his needs was contingent upon modifying the attitudes of his teachers. In addition to the attempts to modify the school situation, it was no less essential to modify the attitudes of Mickey's parents, with a view to their better understanding and acceptance of his needs.

None of these techniques succeeded – whether by reason of the inadequacy of the particular procedures or by reason of Mickey's already well-defined behavior patterns and personality make-up.

His running away increased in frequency and amplitude.

He began stealing — a bicycle, small amounts of money, candy, cigarettes, and once he stole an automobile. Despairing of other therapeutic methods, the court finally resorted to institutionalization and Mickey graduated from training school to reformatory and finally parole.

We see him again in one of the frequent intervals between jobs. He is now twenty-one. He lives at home — at least his parents' residence is the place to which he returns between expeditions which take him sometimes as far as the Eastern coast before another wave of unrest carries him back again. His jobs are mostly unskilled; once he was a roustabout with a circus. Before long he gets to talking about his wanderings. What he wants to be more than anything else is a "kind of adventurer — just to see different countries and have excitement." His eyes glow bright. "I wanted to go to the war in Spain. I've always wanted to go to war — I don't know why." He does not know what he expects to be. It is hard to say, "Might be a mechanic or just go on kinda bumming around and do nothing." No, he didn't go very far in school; as he puts it, he "got itchy to get out and see things. Couldn't concentrate."

"Suppose," he was asked, "you could have just three wishes granted, whatever you wish most of all. What would you wish for?"

"I'd wish," said Mickey, "that I could go off on a faraway ocean and discover an island not owned by any country. I'd start a small government and begin trade. I'd raise money and make the place more modern than any country in the world. People would have new homes and wonderful cars and airplanes and — it would be fun to see how it would come out. Then I'd like to have more knowledge — of things like mathematics, machinery, chemistry and things like that. And lastly I'd like to be able to travel and no one could hold me back!"

So far, all the holding-back in our world has never kept Mickey from seeking escape from reality in his own world of adventure.

KARL

Conduct problems are often subordinate and incidental to disorders of the personality. The stealing episodes that first brought Karl to the attention of the court and his running away were relatively unimportant techniques for solving his difficulties. His principal problem-solving mechanisms — resorting to subterfuges, retreating from reality — had already resulted in the development of seriously warped and twisted personality patterns that constituted a major adjustment hazard. That he has managed to maintain even fairly stable personal-social adjustments outside of an institution is, in view of his personal handicaps, a significant triumph.

The odds were against Karl from the start. The forces whose interaction molded and shaped his personality can be discerned in his life-situation. Here vital needs strive for satisfaction against the thwarting and distortion imposed by the limitation of opportunities for satisfying those needs. The fundamental need for "affectional response from others" [14] was never satisfied in the normal parent-child relationship in Karl's case. His parents' divorce, when he was only six months old, was followed shortly by his mother's remarriage. But Karl was never to know either a father or a father-substitute in the home. The death of his step-father when Karl was two left his mother with three boys to provide for — besides Karl, there were now twin half-brothers who constituted an added threat to his security.

That Karl was "hateful toward the twins from the very

[14] Rogers, *Clinical treatment of the problem child*, p. 11.

first," both Karl and his mother agree. The babies had to be watched carefully to prevent Karl's doing them harm. When they began to walk Karl took special delight in knocking them down; when they had their playthings on the floor he went out of his way to step on their toys and break them. "They were cry-babies," he said, "and mother always took their part and never gave me a break."

His mother believes that she tried hard to show no partiality and to make Karl feel that he was loved and cared for as much as the younger children, and then she adds the revealing conclusion, "But he is cruel just like his father. He has never responded to affection or to reasoning or to anything that I have been able to do."

In many ways Karl's experiences served to strengthen his feeling of rejection and to develop inferiority feelings. Increasingly harassed by extreme poverty and the difficulties of bringing up the three children without the help of a husband, Karl's mother projects to the son her grievances against Karl's father. She nags constantly, and her nagging is directed chiefly toward the most troublesome child. The mother's pension is inadequate. Supplemental county aid has been necessary, and still the children have not been adequately fed and clothed, and there has been no money for what one of the boys characterized as "foolishness." "They give you food and clothes, but no foolishness," he observed with the trenchant realism of the old-young poor.

So there was no money to do the things that kids like to do, no money for shows, and no money for the little activities and treats that contribute to a boy's prestige in his group and to his self-esteem. But Karl has no friends. He prefers, he says, to play by himself. He adds that the kids don't like him and that he doesn't care. His rationalizations are just as obvious as that and serve to emphasize his sensitivity and his inability to face his inadequacies

His stealing began at home. On several occasions he took money from his mother's purse, and his mother, instead of attempting to handle the matter herself, further strengthened his feeling of rejection by taking Karl to the probation officer for reprimand. It was a stealing episode, too, which first brought Karl into contact with the court and clinic. On this occasion he had broken into a gum-vending machine and stolen money and gum.

He is now fourteen. He is tall and a little gaunt. His face is badly disfigured with acne and a facial tic accentuates his nervousness. His nails are bitten to the quick and he moves restlessly in his chair The mask for his inferiority feelings is a very thin pose. To hide his inadequacies, his fears, and his emotional conflicts, he is the antisocial, self-sufficient sophisticate.

He exhibits almost a textbook picture of the shut-in personality, the "schizoid" with developing ideas of reference, seclusiveness, and feeling of being different. Feeling rejected and unable to adjust emotionally to his inferiority feelings and social inadequacies, he takes refuge in daydreams and fantasy and retreats from reality.

Both daydreams and the manifest content of nocturnal dreams suggest emotional conflict and the need to compensate for otherwise unsatisfied drives — especially the need to be superior. A recurrent dream has many features in common with his daydreams. He is always a powerful person — a person of supernormal stature, an ageless person who always appears to be in the prime of youth, a person who wasn't born on earth but on some distant planet, the greatest scientist of all times.

> I am eight feet tall and I have a crazy idea I wasn't born on Earth. I think I am really older than I am. I believe I was on some other planet and I found a big, hollow, round rock about six feet through and I got inside of it. And the

> hole closed up and somehow it went into space and landed on Earth without killing me. And so then I was found by my earthly mother who thought she was my mother. And I grew up to about the age of sixteen, when I changed back into my old form. I keep thinking that, and I dream it, too.

Instead of his scrawny, puny body and pimply face, in the dream he has the physique and physical prowess of a superhuman being, the Man from Mars. Significantly, too, he is not really the son of the earthly mother who rejects him, and some day soon he will show her, he will change back into his real self.

The dreams are dangerously near being a too satisfactory substitute for reality. Not only does he feel that he has no friends, and rationalize by explaining that he "never tried to make friends, never wanted any," but he makes mysterious references to somebody who is "trying to get him." He alludes vaguely to "people" who are to blame for things that happen to him. Consequently, "anything you can get away with is all right." He exhibits fears and vague anxieties, but tends to focalize his fears on the cops. "If there weren't any cops there wouldn't be any trouble."

The treatment possibilities for misfit children with the behavior symptoms which Karl exhibits are limited at best. The court has jurisdictional powers that other agencies lack, but lacks adequate child guidance clinic facilities. In the present instance, however, the resources of the community had contributed to an adjustment that promised a far different outcome.

The psychiatrist's report predicted the development of a full-blown psychosis in the present unfavorable environment. Physical examination specified certain health measures. Case conferences in which school, court, and clinic took part resulted in the carrying out of a program which included foster-home placement, revision of school program,

after-school jobs which yielded pocket money, encouragement and opportunity for association with own-age companions in active games and sports, *and*, probably the most important single factor, a counseling relationship which gave him an opportunity for release of feeling without fear of punishment or blame.

Of course, there have been ups and downs. Foster-home changes have been necessary, changes of school program to adapt to changing interests, and new jobs. But the point has been reached where Karl can even get along fairly well in his own home with his mother and half-brothers. He holds a responsible job which requires him to work in an employer-employee relationship with people — he does clerical work and interviewing in the office of an industrial plant.

Personally, he can say now, "There's nobody I can't get along with." And perhaps his saying so is evidence of the fact that he still has to reassure himself. He likes now, for a good time, to go to a show with a bunch of the kids, instead of being alone. He is interested in girls, and specifically, *a* girl. His adjustment to his mother is still in very delicate balance. He can say that there is nothing he dislikes about her and yet he cannot think of anything about her that he likes. She is still affectionate mostly with his twin brothers, who are apparently now at a point where they can be ignored by an older brother with a job and a girl-friend. His hard-won insight into his own personality problems is still at a very conscious level. He "used to keep everything right inside." He says he "always used to be strictly the lone wolf — too long, that was my trouble. Now I can confide in my folks."

His wishes of 1934 express in a word some of the major conflicts of his early adolescence. If he could have whatever he wished for most of all, he wanted *money, freedom,* and *a clean face.* The lack of money was a major source of

frustration and irritation in that home. Karl felt himself to be different from the other boys because he could not have what they had and do what they did. It was a constant source of irritation and defeat. Lack of freedom to do and to be what he wanted to was intricately interwoven with the first lack and with the whole problem of his ambivalent relationship to his mother. Lastly, he wanted a clean face. All of his dreams were of a powerful person of fine physique and striking personal presence.

And now his wants are those of a mature person. Even the verbal formulation is the more assured speech of the secure adult. He wants to get on his feet financially, to marry his girl, and to get into a lasting and stable job or profession.

That there have been no more episodes of overt delinquent conduct is a minor detail of behavior which has been the resultant of the interaction of so many forces [15] that threatened the very integrity of the personality. Of course, the end is not yet. The interactions of these forces, the fundamental needs of the organism, the emotional tensions within the family, economic and social stress – are determining the giddy balance that is Karl's life adjustment. "We watch while these in equilibrium keep the giddy line midway: . . ."

[15] Rogers characterizes behavior as the "resultant . . . of many forces, some of them operating to produce a normal degree of adjustment, others creating maladjustment. . . ." *Clinical treatment of the problem child*, p. 11.

★ 8 ★

PRIVATE WORLDS

THE CLINICAL APPROACH to an understanding of the dynamics of delinquent behavior has meant for us a study of children whose conduct has been described as delinquent. It has involved dealing with boys and girls and their ways of attaining their goals. Some of them steal the things they want; some of them seek excitement and love objects and satisfy their needs by direct sexual intercourse; some of them run away from situations that are intolerable and find satisfaction in defying their parents or the school, with its restraints. We have studied the behavior of children in the perspective of its relation to the background of environmental pressures. Poverty means embarrassment and thwarting because of certain lacks. Family status involves hurts to pride and the satisfactions of prestige. School fails to offer adequate opportunities for satisfying achievements. There are also the complexities involved in the intricate patterns of family relationships. Children need to be dependent on their parents; they also need to be free from parental domination. Parents, too, are people, and there are interacting and conflicting motives in the patterns of family relationships, arising from their needs and the opportunities or lack of opportunities for motive satisfaction.

We have found the behavior of delinquent children to be

meaningful only in the perspective of a context. We have found that the factors that influence behavior are bewilderingly complex, that behavior is conditioned by organic, cultural, and social influences and by the needs of the organism. Direct observation of behavior — even what people say about their own behavior — sometimes needs to be supplemented in roundabout ways in order to make behavior intelligible. The internal as well as the external factors are important determinants of behavior. But people, especially children, can seldom tell us about the things which affect them most deeply. One reason is that they have to protect their self-esteem, and so cannot admit motives that they consider unworthy or face unwelcome embarrassing facts about themselves. Another reason for their inability to talk freely about emotionally toned matters is that they are not themselves aware of them, because these things have been repressed or are unconscious.

Hidden regions of the self are sometimes revealed with dramatic vividness by the roundabout ways that we call projective methods. The projective methods tap the rich fields of imagination and fantasy, and, in their imaginings, children reveal about themselves what they cannot or will not say. By the use of these methods, the psychologist hopes, as White puts it, "to elude the defensive, socially patterned personality in order to hear from the less disciplined, less rational private world." [1]

The reader will recall that conditions favorable for such unselfconscious revelations are created by providing the subject with materials, such as pictures, ink blots, modeling clay, finger paints, toys, blocks, and the like, which have in common the characteristic of being relatively unstructured

[1] Robert W. White, Interpretation of imaginative productions, in *Personality and the behavior disorders*, Vol. I, J. McV. Hunt (Ed) New York: Ronald Press, 1944, p. 214.

or ambiguous, so that the subject is induced to organize an unstructured field by imposing upon it his own meanings. By indirection, access to the "hidden regions of the personality" has been sought, chiefly through the imaginative creations of the story-telling method, the fantasies seen in meaningless figures like ink blots, and in play. Of the projective techniques, these three have been the most extensively explored and certain conventions established to guide the explorer, since the methods may not yet be said to be standardized in the sense that we speak of tests as standardized.

As I have pointed out in an earlier chapter, there has been, as yet, little published material on the use of projective methods [2] in the field of child delinquency. Perhaps, because they are, as Sargent indicates, "at once the delight of the clinician and the despair of the experimentalist," [3] we should repeat our warning that "explorations in personality" by way of projective techniques are not guided by well-marked trails for the inexperienced. One must know pretty well the general characteristics of this human terrain in order not to be led astray by irrelevancies.

It is my purpose in this chapter to present an account of certain explorations made with projective methods into the private world of one of our juvenile court girls. I have chosen Carmen to illustrate some of the possibilities of the method, not because this case presented special difficulties of interpretation of personality, but for the contrary reason. Carmen is a very outgoing, expressive person. So it is plain to be seen what our projective techniques reveal in the light of our known regions of the person who is Carmen. The subject matter is endlessly rich.

[2] At the present writing the most comprehensive review of the literature on projective methods is the summary and discussion by Helen Sargent, Projective methods their origins, theory, and application in personality research. *Psychol. Bull*, 1945, **42**, 257–293.

[3] *Ibid*, p 275

CARMEN

Carmen is fifteen when we first make her acquaintance at the clinic. Somewhat below medium height, she has already developed the rounded bodily contours that early maturity brings to the Mexican girl. Her alert, black eyes and mobile face bespeak the high spirit and quick responsiveness which characterize her attitude during the interview. Her low, mellow voice can rise on occasion to a strident boisterousness and a subject for the complaint of one foster mother. Her lips are full and red even without benefit of Revlon. She likes bright colors and chooses, with somewhat florid taste, clothes that accent her olive skin and dark hair. She is at the height of that evanescent prettiness that precedes the coarsening of appearance that comes with added weight and early senescence.

Why is she here? The complaint says because of "a tendency toward sex delinquency." The social worker says she is "boy crazy" and that while she was left in charge of some younger children "she became involved in a minor sex offense with a younger boy." The medical report is negative for evidence of sex experience. There is also the complaint that she is uninterested in school and does not apply herself and, in spite of the fact that at fifteen she is in the eleventh grade, in high school, her "counselor" wonders whether she hasn't a low mentality. Perhaps the counselor should be forgiven her racial stereotype of the dull Mexican, but how she could ever have talked to Carmen and still ignored her evident mental alertness is hard to understand.

That Carmen is a person of superior intellectual endowment is borne out by the results of tests, her mental alertness in face-to-face social situations, and in the character of her verbal responses and use of words in personal documents. She expresses herself well and, in addition, has unusual insight into her own mental processes.

Just now she is terribly alone and rejected. She is as "bitter and disillusioned" as only buoyant, emotionally intense fifteen can be. This is the story.

Carmen and her younger sister were placed, when Carmen was five years old, in a foster home with an American woman who was very fond of the two little girls and brought them up as her own. Discipline in the home was neither lax nor too rigid, and the little girls felt wanted and secure in the affection of their foster mother. Occasional visits from their own mother, "big and fat, but with an awfully pretty face," in the early years of their placement are remembered with warmth and tenderness by Carmen. After ten years, through no fault of the two girls, circumstances beyond the foster mother's control made it necessary for her to return Carmen and her sister to the agency for another placement.

Without any investigation of the mother's home, the two girls were allowed to spend the summer with their mother, pending a second foster-home placement This proved to be a very traumatic emotional experience for the two adolescent girls. The "hotel" to which their mother took them to live in was a rendezvous for the riff-raff of a seaport city. Carmen saw the bedraggled wreck of her erstwhile "warm, friendly mother" surrounded by men of all sorts seeking her favors, and stripped of every remnant of human decency. Witness to the fact that the girl herself came to be regarded by her mother as a threat to the mother's own conquests is a scar, still livid on Carmen's arm, left by her mother's teeth when she bit the girl in a moment of jealous fury. Carmen regards the mark as a symbol of her own hatred for a mother who has killed all parental feeling in her daughter.

"I don't know — I don't seem to like anything any more — I don't even like myself. I don't have any decent parents to turn to like other girls." (A mother who leads a prostitute's life, a father serving a life sentence for murder.) At fifteen,

Carmen is alone, indeed, and more than rejected. But still she is fifteen, and life courses warm and demanding through her young body. How shall she "dress the misery in fit magnificence"?

Two foster-home placements followed the brief interlude with her mother. Neither one was a success. Carmen was "unco-operative," the foster mothers said. The school that thought she was of low mentality said she was uninterested and did not apply herself, and found her "apathetic." And there was no one in the impersonal environment of the agency who recognized the turmoil and contradictions in the way a girl felt about things. How you could want things and hate yourself for wanting them. How you could hate the mother who had done such awful things to you, and how part of the bitterness of that hatred could be the still clear image of the other mother, the gentle one with the "awfully pretty face." And foster mothers, "suitable" according to agency standards, with their neat respectable ideas, are not likely to be persons in whom an emotionally insecure girl could invest.

Carmen herself recognizes and can accept the fact that she can at the same time hate herself for having done a thing and be glad that she did it. There is in her at the same time all the bitterness and hatred of her own personal relationships to her parents, the resentment of the curtailment of her independence by the "authorities" who are "guides to the right path," and "a heart swelling with music, laughter, dancing and of course romance which has been stored up inside." These things Carmen knows.

What do tests tell us?

The *Revised Stanford-Binet Scale* rates her intelligence well within the top 10 per cent of American school children. Her I.Q. is 124. Her successes on the test are evenly distributed, showing no special disabilities in any particular

type of mental functioning. If any special ability can be noted, it would be on tests that involve the ability to evaluate abstractly. On the whole, evenness, rather than any conspicuous evidence of either special abilities or disabilities, characterizes her performance. She enters actively into the task, is rather self-confident, is fairly assured in her personal contact with the examiner, and her attention is centered upon her task with little interference from distracting stimuli.

On the *Bell Adjustment Inventory*, her scores are consistent with what we already know about Carmen. Home adjustment rating is very unsatisfactory, health adjustment rating is good; social adjustment is aggressive; and emotional adjustment is unsatisfactory — special areas of tension are revealed in parent-child relationships. For example, the question "Do you occasionally have conflicting moods of love and hate for members of your family?" is answered by our subject by so deeply underlining the "yes" response that the pencil breaks through the paper. The total *unsatisfactory* adjustment score is determined by the poor ratings on items that make up the home and emotional adjustment scores.

Projective techniques

We have for Carmen three projective methods of approach to an understanding of how she sees her world. We shall illustrate the several methods of approach to a study of personality by the selection of typical material from each.

1. THE RORSCHACH TECHNIQUE

The task: The subject is asked to tell for each of ten ink blots what she sees in it, what it might be for her, what it makes her think of. At the end of the series the examiner

goes over the subject's responses with her, seeking by apparently impromptu questions to determine what aspects of the blots (the whole or a part, the color, form, or shading) were used in arriving at each response.

Scoring: Each response is evaluated in terms of *where* (the whole or a part of blot), *how* (form, color, movement, or shading), and *what* (human, animal, object) our subject sees. A fourth category is originality of response. Other considerations of scoring take into account reaction time, characteristics of sequences of responses, and number of responses.

Interpretation: Interpretation takes account of the total pattern of interrelationships of all factors.

Carmen sees, for example, in card VII, "two ladies gossiping together. They have funny hair-do's. Both are pointing toward places." It is the whole (W) of the blot that contributes to this concept. She sees movement (M) here of human (H) subjects. So our scoring symbols serve a kind of shorthand method of categorizing the where, how, and what aspects of this response.

In card V she sees "a bat." Again it is the whole (W) of the blot that she uses and the form (F) of the blot determines what she sees, an animal (A), and this is a common or popular (P) response. Reversing the card she sees, using only a small part of the card (d), a "snail with head here and horns sticking up here." This response is determined by the form (F) of the blot and is an animal detail (Ad).

These are fairly characteristic ways of seeing these blots, and the responses serve to illustrate the usual scoring categories. But let us look for a moment at some of the other responses.

In card I, first she sees "a cliff or precipice with two people on it" and she adds later, on the examiner's inquiry, that "they are both wondering how they are going to get across

'cause that's a big place." This time she has used only a small part of the blot (d), she uses both form and shading (FK) and sees in this vista a natural scene (N) to which she adds a comment on the activity of the people (M) (H).

In the same blot, still held in the upright position, she sees a "devilish cat with horns," which is an original (O) response.

Then, turning the blot by reversing top and bottom, she sees "the skeleton of a prairie cow," adding on the inquiry that the white spaces (S) "are the eye holes that appear when the carcass begins to rot —— " This response is original (O).

Card II is "the insides of a person" to which she adds, "I have never seen the insides of a person very well, but it would probably be like that — all red and black, and the middle is the stomach, maybe not shaped that way but that's just the way I picture it." This response is determined mainly by the color of the blot and only in part and not very accurately by its form, so it is scored (CF).

We shall not undertake to go through the scoring details of the test or to indicate the responses to all ten cards.[4] The only one of our four sample blots that introduced any color was card II. The test series includes five in which color is used.

Obviously this sort of thing is little more than meaningless mumbo-jumbo to the uninitiated. Perhaps it will seem very far-fetched, indeed, to most people to look for meaningful personality patterns in such material. But let us see what we can make of the Rorschach interpreter's [5] account of our Carmen, based on an evaluation of all her responses and their pattern of interrelationships.

[4] The complete protocols of this record will be found in Appendix E.

[5] I am indebted to Dr Katherine P. Bradway for the administration, scoring, and interpretation of this test.

The Rorschach responses reveal to the interpreter skilled in the use of the method the structure of the personality, "what one is naturally inclined to be," as Klopfer puts it. If we think of the test as revealing an underlying personality structure, we can see this structure as something that "makes behavior understandable."

Interpretation is in terms of three aspects of the personality: (1) the mode and degree of *control*, by which the Rorschach interpreter means how adequately one's spontaneous impulses are dealt with — inhibited, repressed, directed, or stabilized; (2) the *intellectual* aspects, which are described in terms of the way he deals with his problems, thus indicating level of maturity and adjustment; and (3) the *emotional* aspects, which deal with the extent to which the person is dominated by his inner life or is responsive to promptings from without.

Her Rorschach responses show that Carmen has achieved a fair degree of *control* of her impulses. This control has been brought about by her intellectualizing her emotional tendencies. She loses control easily, however. Usually her adjustment is good, though there are times when she seems "to go to pieces" and reacts in a very poorly adjusted manner.

She has superior *intellectual* capacity, but does not always use her intelligence efficiently. In an effort to control emotional impulses, of which she is afraid, intelligence resorts to a rigid way of dealing with situations.

Carmen's *emotional* reactions tend to be impulsive, but for the most part the basic promptings from within and the stimuli from without affect her fairly evenly. At present, however, the inner promptings are more important to her than stimuli from without, and a qualitative analysis of her responses shows a good deal of emotional confusion. This confusion is related to sexual matters and emotional control.

Prognosis for a continued adequate adjustment is good.

2. THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

The Thematic Apperception Test seeks to reveal, through the medium of the imaginative productions stimulated by pictures, the ways of the self in dealing with things. Each picture is ambiguous in that it is susceptible of a good many interpretations The silhouette (Picture 14), for example, may be a man or may be a woman, and the things he or she is thinking, feeling, striving for, escaping from are as varied as the whole universe of human experience. What each person sees in each picture reveals some of his meanings. Since he is given no clue as to what the examiner expects him to say, and is forced to draw on whatever material, mental content, is readily available within himself for his spontaneous production, the story-telling situation provides an opportunity for the expression of important strivings, tensions, sentiments, and conflicts of the narrator. Creative imagination, fantasy, has been found to constitute an important medium for the expression of such dynamic content.

The pictures are presented as a test of imagination. The task is interesting and the subject usually becomes so absorbed in his attempt to explain the situations presented in the pictures that he forgets his sensitive self and, without realizing it, says things about an invented character that apply to himself, things that direct questioning would not elicit. These are the things he cannot or will not say that reveal his private world

The task: The pictures given Carmen, as a starting-point for the stories she was to invent, were the ten for women from the 1936 series of photographs furnished by the Harvard Psychological Clinic.[6] She was asked to make up a

[6] The original set of pictures was first distributed by the Harvard Psychological Clinic in 1936.

story for each picture – to tell what has happened before, and what is happening now and to say what the people are feeling and thinking and how it will come out.

I have selected four of her stories to illustrate the content of her responses. A fifth was chosen for the reason that her identification with the situation was so complete that she said she could not make up a story about it. It was simply her own experience. The stories follow. Each is preceded by a brief description to identify the picture.

Picture F-11 shows a young woman. An old woman is grimacing in the background.[7]

> There is a younger woman looking in the mirror. The grandmother is standing behind. (It must be the grandmother. Surely it couldn't be the mother.) The young woman is alarmed at the thought of becoming an "old hag." It can't be – she will not allow it. She will use modern methods. She will visit the beauty shop often. The grandmother is thinking of her youth. Regret, vanity, and cunning in her smile. Grandmother thinks, "All this worry and effort to be and to retain beauty and soon you will look like me."

Picture F-12 shows a bridge over water. A girl leans over the railing. Figures of men and tall buildings are in the background.[8]

> A colored girl is standing on a bridge. She notices the sky and the water and makes a comparison. The water is cool and calm while the sky is restless and looks like a future storm. Her people are slaves. She sees them carrying burdens at all hours with just cruel words and very little money for pay. She desires love, excitement, and gaiety in life, but her parents wish to marry her off to an eligible

[7] This picture is 12F in the revised set of pictures printed at the Harvard University Printing Office, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1948.

[8] Picture F–12 is 17GF in the revised series.

but profitable person who is entirely ignorant of her distaste toward him. She knows that she can never win and fulfill her wishes, so she chooses the dark, cool, and restful waters between an unhappy outlook of future life.

Picture F-17 shows two women on a stairway. One has her hands squeezed around the throat of the other.[9]

Ever since Agnes was a child she had always had a horrible temper. She could flare up at any little thing and be a positively different character than what she really was.

Now Agnes had a weakness for handsome, young men and when Harry Lang came into her life her will power was positively sickly against her weakness for Harry Lang. He was gay and charming, and he told her he loved her. But *she* was mad about him!

Then came the bolt! One day she received a visitor who introduced herself as *Mrs.* Harry Lang and politely told Agnes if she would care to spare herself the publicity of being named as co-respondent in a divorce case, she would better stop seeing Harry.

Agnes' brain whirled with the realization of her words, and a hot fury hurled itself at her. She pushed the other woman against the staircase, and pressed her long, slender fingers into Harry's wife's neck. Oh, her neck was so soft, so easily bruised! She pressed harder and harder until the struggling body collapsed into a pitiful heap at her feet.

Agnes came back to her right senses and then she groaned and said slowly, "Oh, my God, what shall I do? I have broken my fingernail!"

Picture F-18 shows a girl dressed in maid's uniform standing at the partly open door to a room which is not revealed.[10]

The girl is Mimi. She works at the house of Mrs. Van Astor. There is always company at the house. Mimi is a

[9] Picture F-17 is 18GF in the revised series.
[10] This picture is not included in the revised series.

nice girl, but inquisitive. A guest comes one day who has a Rolls Royce and furs. The butler says that the woman is an example of blue blood — sweet and gracious. The girl listens at the door and hears the guest tell Mrs. Van Astor that she has not had as good a time since they worked in the laundry together in Brooklyn. They talk plainly without big words. Then Mimi enters the room to call Mrs. Van Astor to the telephone. Immediately their manner changes. Mimi is amused as she leaves the room as shown in the picture.

Picture F-19 shows a woman lying in bed. Her bared arms and shoulders are exposed above the covers. With his back to the bed stands a disheveled young man in his shirt sleeves. On a table at his side are a bottle and overturned glass.[11]

This picture Carmen rejects with the comment: Oh, the memories that picture brings to me! It is too real to me to think of a story. I have seen the same thing many times. The woman is my mother, the man one of her lovers or perhaps a husband. The story of these adventures always is drunken rendezvous, hangover, regrets. The man in the picture sees me and knows that I am going to ask Joe to throw him out.

Scoring and interpretation: There is as yet no general agreement among users of the TAT concerning scoring procedures. No formal categories for classifying responses have been set up like those worked out for the Rorschach test. Suggestions for analyzing and interpreting the stories are given by Murray [12] in the manual that accompanies the revised series of pictures, and Sanford [13] has worked out a de-

[11] Instead of F–19, the revised series includes 13MF, which is similar to F–19 but has been modified in certain respects.

[12] H. A. Murray, *Thematic apperception test.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943.

[13] R. N. Sanford (Mimeo. Harvard Psychol. Clinic). Also described in Part III, Studies of personality and the environment, pp. 125–361 of the monograph by Sanford and others, on Physique, personality and scholarship. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develpm.*, 1943, 8, No. 1.

tailed schema for analyzing the content of each story, based on the same assumptions. Each story is analyzed on the basis of the *needs* manifested by the principal character (hero) and the environmental forces (*press*) which act upon him.

Without scoring the separate variables, it is possible to see what issues, conflicts, and dilemmas are of concern to the story-teller. We shall first ask ourselves with what sort of people does our story-teller identify herself? With whose point of view is she sympathetic? Who plays the leading role? Turn first to the five pictures we have described and the stories elicited. Who are the *principal characters*, the heroes? They are:

> F-11. A young woman who resists growing old and losing her beauty and charm.
>
> F-12. An underprivileged girl (in that she is colored and and a member of a minority group) whose romantic desires are frustrated by parents.
>
> F-17. A young woman who meets thwarting in love with aggression against the other woman who is the barrier to the achievement of the love object.
>
> F-18. An underprivileged girl (in that she has the status of a servant) in the house of a woman who, in reality, has no better status than the servant.
>
> F-19. The story-telling façade is dropped. This is my own situation. That drunken prostitute is my mother.

The characters of her other five stories are. [14]

> F-13. An adolescent girl who resents having to conform to the restrictions imposed by her parents.
>
> F-14. A young woman whose marital happiness is endangered by the other-woman threat.

[14] The content of the remaining five stories will be found in Appendix E.

F-15. An underprivileged girl (in that she is a slum dweller) who finds in art and sacrifice to the demands of an invalid mother a substitute for a thwarted marriage.

F-16. A man who meets thwarting (old age and unhappy marriage) with a brave front.

F-20. A man who is a political refugee and the victim of his own unwitting aggression (unintentionally kills a man in a drunken rage) meets thwarting in the end through loss of his love objects.

Carmen's heroes are characteristically "suffering heroes." They are, for the most part, victims of undeserved misfortunes which come upon them through forces in the environment. Most of them are underprivileged persons, persons in an inferior social position

What do these heroes think and feel and want? What are their *needs?*

Outstanding is Carmen's preoccupation with the *attainment of love objects.* We might call this, in Sanford's phrase, a need "to form and further an erotic relationship." This need appears in six of the nine stories.

Status needs are important to her. Many of the undeserved misfortunes of her principal characters are involved with their position in society or in relation to an authoritarian adult world.

The need to meet thwarting with *aggression* is very evident, but very carefully desensitized to make it acceptable to the subject's concepts of social and individual values. This is done by transferring emotional energy from an unacceptable idea (e.g., choking your rival to death) to an acceptable idea such as a laughter-provoking incident when the expected emotional tone is a reaction of horror. Thus there is involved another very important need.

The need to *avoid blame,* which is apparent, too, in the blamelessness of most of her heroes. They suffer through no

fault of theirs or else suffer punishment out of all proportion to their motives.

There are, too, in the stories *companionship* needs, needs for *sociability* and fun, for *diversion,* and for *excitement* and adventure.

And there is, in Carmen's stories, a sense for the dramatic, especially a need for *self-dramatization.* There is the drama of the climax of the woman who killed her rival and bewailed breaking her fingernail in the process and a fine sense of the dramatic in the externalization, almost a rejection of the personal origin of her emotions in the expression "a hot fury hurled itself at her."

What difficulties and trials do Carmen's heroes encounter? What factors in the *environment* constitute beneficial or harmful *forces* which either facilitate or hinder the goal-directed activities of the principal characters of the stories? These constitute the press of Murray's classification.

The environmental situations in Carmen's stories have much in common. The hero's motives are constantly being *thwarted,* and always by forces in the environment.

There is threatened loss of physical charms, which constitutes a barrier to the attainment of love goals.

There is the lack of possessions.

There is lack of high social status.

There is loss or lack of love objects and emotional satisfactions.

There is a very notable lack of family support in satisfactory family relationships, especially in the mother relationship. In most of the situations, in fact, but especially in the human relationships in which the hero finds himself there is a threat to emotional security. The people with whom the hero deals all constitute barriers between himself and his love goals. These threatening people are all women, and mostly older women, the mother figures in the stories.

In contrast to the harms that constitute thwarting forces in the environment, the beneficial forces are few and weak.

Against the loss of physical charm and personal beauty with age, our young woman has the futility of modern beauty shops.

There is one instance in which the love object is achieved.

There is one instance where a mother-daughter relationship of affection is present, but that relationship itself is interwoven with the loss of the love object and the sacrifice-demanding character of the mother's invalidism.

Accomplishment of something creditable in artistic achievement is a substitute satisfaction for the loss of the love object.

What happens? How do these *needs* and these *environmental forces interact*? And what is the *outcome*? Consider, first, our illustrative stories.

F-11. The first hero is a rebel against the inevitable. The mother-figure in the background probably has a deeper emotional significance than the loss of physical charm. It has the symbolic character, later more fully revealed, of all the older women figures who are barriers to the attainment of the most important goals, sex, status, and emotional security. The struggle is all of no avail.

F-12. The second outcome of the struggles of need-erotic relationship versus press-parental thwarting is death by suicide. But the outcome has an element of satisfaction, from the hero's standpoint, in its sacrificial character, the prefers-death-to-dishonor character of the choice.

F-17. This event is a crime, but there is no guilt — there is, from the hero's standpoint, not even any moral significance. It is as though the story-teller, in her handling of the thema by the use of the mechanism of displacement, were disowning the aggressive act. By the substitution of an emotionally bland response for the expected response,

emotional tension is relieved and this displacement of affect — she has killed her rival, but her "Oh, my God, what shall I do" is followed by the tension-relieving, laughter-provoking, "I have broken my fingernail" — allows the expression of an unacceptable emotion while protecting the individual from acknowledging the emotion and from any resulting guilt feelings.[15]

F-18. In this situation, again without blame because through no fault of the hero's, status needs are satisfied through the debasement of a person in a high-status position.

F-19. This is the story-teller's own emotional conflict in relation to her mother and own home environment.

In the other five stories there is:

F-13. Resentment against the restrictions imposed by adult authority, which is met with the attitude you can coerce me, can make me go through the motions of conformity, but you do not accomplish your purpose because my conformity is only external.

F-14. The wish-fulfilling character of this thema is expressed in each aspect. The love object has been attained and held in the face of threatened loss and even the mother-figure contributes to the happy ending.

F-15. There are several themas here. One interweaves a need for the security of parental affection and desire to accomplish something creditable with the environmental press of parental domination in which the demands of the mother's invalidism are barrier factors to the attainment of love goals, while contributing to nobility of character goals.

F-16. Again the hero is the helpless pawn of circumstances, which he, nevertheless, meets with gallantry.

F-20. Here again is extreme aggression. This second criminal event is displaced to a man — a man who is old and a foreigner. The object of this aggression is vague, someone

[15] This is a good illustration of Freud's theory of wit.

in the crowd. The incident is further shorn of any possible painful self-reference by absolving the hero from any blameworthiness of motive and by attaching unhappy consequences in the form of punishment by imprisonment. Unhappy outcome.

Circumstantially the outcomes are, for the most part, bad. Personally, the hero suffers undeserved misfortune and is noble in defeat. No hero, in Carmen's stories, ever really exerts himself to accomplish something or works energetically at anything creative

Lastly, let us inquire how *adequate* are the *heroes?*

F-11. The first girl says, "I won't be old and ugly," and fate in the person of a grotesque old woman stands mockingly in the background.

F-12. The second girl chooses death by suicide rather than a distasteful, forced marriage.

F-13. Each child seeks to escape the conditions imposed by parental authority and escapes from his tasks in imagination.

F-14. She holds her man.

F-15. She devotes a life, frustrated in love, to parental domination and the compensation of artistic achievement.

F-16. His gallant gesture hides an aching heart. The happy past is contrasted with the unhappy present.

F-17. "I could kill my rival — but of course I don't mean it."

F-18. She is just as good as the blue-blooded, gracious Mrs. Van Astor because "she is no better than I am."

F-19. "This is my insecure self."

F-20. A noble scapegrace with no joy in freedom when his faithful wife is gone.

There is, in these stories, manifest interest in the ever-present love theme. There is a fitful seeking for excitement

and gaiety and the need to dramatize the humdrum of every day. There is an awareness of the things of the senses, a seeking for enjoyment of sensuous impressions. There are warm human needs for companionship and sociability. Ever present, too, are resentments that one feels are rather shallow in contrast to the vivid affectional needs. There are primitive impulses under fairly rigid control. There is no ambition — at least no ambition worth working for. In Carmen's private world, life is full of difficulties, but life is like that, *que pues!* [16]

3. THE PLAY TECHNIQUE

The use of the play technique to enable the adult to gain insight into the child's world has an established place in the psychological clinic. Its possibilities were first realized by the psychoanalysts [17] who found the child's release from the restrictions of the world of reality in the fantasy world of play a favorable frame of reference for understanding his inarticulate problems. They found, too, that the play situation had certain curative properties. This they have explained as being due to the fact that in his play a child can deal with threatening situations on a small and manageable scale, and thus achieve freedom from his fears. He can, in his play world, master obstacles that in the real world, either because he is too little, or too weak, or too inarticulate, are sources of frustration. Then, too, in the play situation in the clinic he can, in the presence of an adult who understands

[16] *Que pues* is an idiomatic expression used by the Mexican which means literally "what follows" and is best conveyed by a gesture, the shrug that accompanies our American "So what!"

[17] For an account of play analysis see Anna Freud, Introduction to the technique of child analysis (Trans by L. P. Clark) *Nerv ment Dis Monogr.*, 1928, No 48; and Melanie Klein, *The psychoanalysis of children* New York Norton, 1932. See also Erik Homburger Erikson, Studies in the interpretation of play *Genet. Psychol Monogr.*, 1940, **22**, 557–671.

his feelings and does not reprove him, express aggressive impulses against objects which are substitutes or symbols for people and things in the real world. The puppet dolls in my clinic that most frequently have to have broken heads repaired and replaced are the mother and father dolls! Besides being sources of emotional security, parents are, as we have seen, in their role as disciplinary agents, sources of frustration because they interfere with the free expression of the child's impulses.

Play techniques serve to help understand the child's difficulties, the *function of diagnosis,* and they are useful in helping him solve his problems, which is the *function of therapy.*

The play technique would seem, then, to belong especially to the world of the preschool child in whose service they have been developed. This is, of course, where they have demonstrated their greatest usefulness. However, they have been used, too, in the study of adult personality,[18] and it is this still experimental use of the technique which was adapted to our study of Carmen's world of fantasy. A previous exploratory study of the usefulness of the technique with a group of college students convinced me that a procedure similar to that employed by Erikson [19] could be used with adolescents of juvenile court age if one were careful to provide adequate protection and consideration for the self-esteem of the young person in such a vulnerable situation. To be asked to "play with dolls" could be a very grave offense to a youngster whose personal dignity is already seriously threatened by the traumatic experiences associated with his offense.

Our play materials include real people dolls — represent-

[18] Erik Homburger Erikson, Configurations in play· clinical notes *Psychoanal. Quart*, 1937, **6**, pp 139–214, also Dramatic productions test, in H A. Murray's *Explorations in personality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 552–582.
[19] *Ibid*

ing in miniature a great variety of children and adults of all ages — household furniture, animals, automobiles, building blocks, etc. A board 18 by 36 inches with a wooden back serves as a stage. Carmen was told that we were making a study of creative imagination with college students and was asked to construct a dramatic scene using any of our puppet figures that she cared to in her construction. After some hesitation and demurring, she exclaimed, "Oh, I've a good one," and constructed the following scene without hesitation or further delay (Fig 14).

> She explained her dramatic scene by saying, "You see what it is, don't you? The cow is wrecking everything. That's the way I feel sometimes! The cow is getting even with her owner (the lady of the house), who has treated her mean. She has conducted a publicity stunt at the cow's expense; the woman has milked her the wrong way and got her name in the paper. In seeking her revenge, it was the cow who won out and got the newspaper publicity."

If we go no deeper than Carmen's own interpretation, we have a description of some of the dynamic factors in her personality that furnish important clues to her behavior. Here, as in her responses in the Thematic Apperception Test, she reveals the dominant trends of an impulsive, thwarted, self-dramatizing feminine personality. Here, again, she finds in the dramatic play situation a safe medium of expression for aggression. As the mechanism of displacement was used in her I-could-kill-my-rival incident, so the cow in the parlor is sufficiently safe so that she can point out her own identification and read her own aggressive feelings into the situation. The analyst would find the open, circular configuration of her construction significant. Erikson finds that the spatial arrangements of toys and blocks yield valuable clues to personality characteristics and to personal problems.

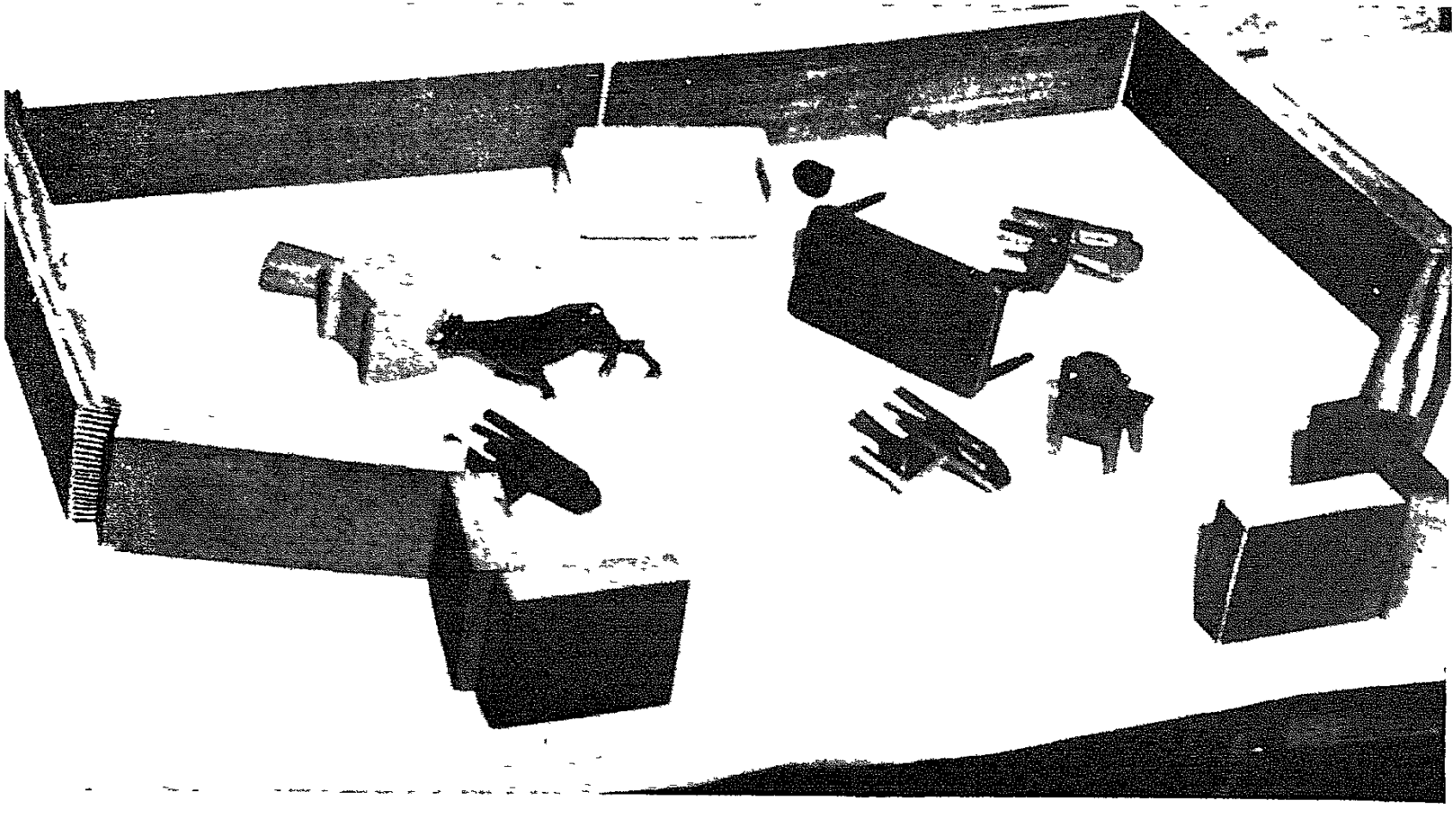


FIGURE 14

A more typical illustration of the use of the play technique to help in the understanding of a child is the play interview with Bobby. Bobby is a small, round-eyed, colored boy, aged six, whose troublesome behavior has become a serious community problem. He steals, is destructive — throwing garden furniture into fish ponds, filling mail boxes with dirt, throwing lighted matches into parked cars — and engages in other attention-demanding behavior. He lies, in the interest of inflating his ego, as well as protectively. The current opinion of teachers and social worker is that he just has no reactions to punishment and control and does not know the difference between right and wrong. He will confess to anything, however heinous, or deny it as readily. He always appears to be perfectly assured.

Bobby was brought to the clinic by the social worker. He came readily and was very much at ease. He greeted the interviewer and answered questions concerning school and his trip to the clinic without hesitation or embarrassment. Before going to the playroom, he acceded readily to the interviewer's request to draw a man (Fig. 15).

The *Play Interview* is conducted in a room containing play materials spread out on a large table. A smaller play table is provided for the child to use in his play activities. A third table adjoining, but out of the child's range of vision as he faces the play table, is for the interviewer. In this play interview, a period of free play, where the child did as he liked without suggestions or interference from the adult, was followed by a period during which the adult participated by question and comment.

The period of *free play* for about ten minutes Bobby played with the blocks while the interviewer sat at the adjoining table "doing her work." He talked to himself as he played and occasionally addressed a remark to the interviewer, who answered but did not encourage conversation.

Bobby's structures are poorly built and easily knocked down by a careless movement. He builds unsteady towers, selecting tall, thin blocks, and quickly loses interest in them, turning to a new activity or an aimless piling of blocks.

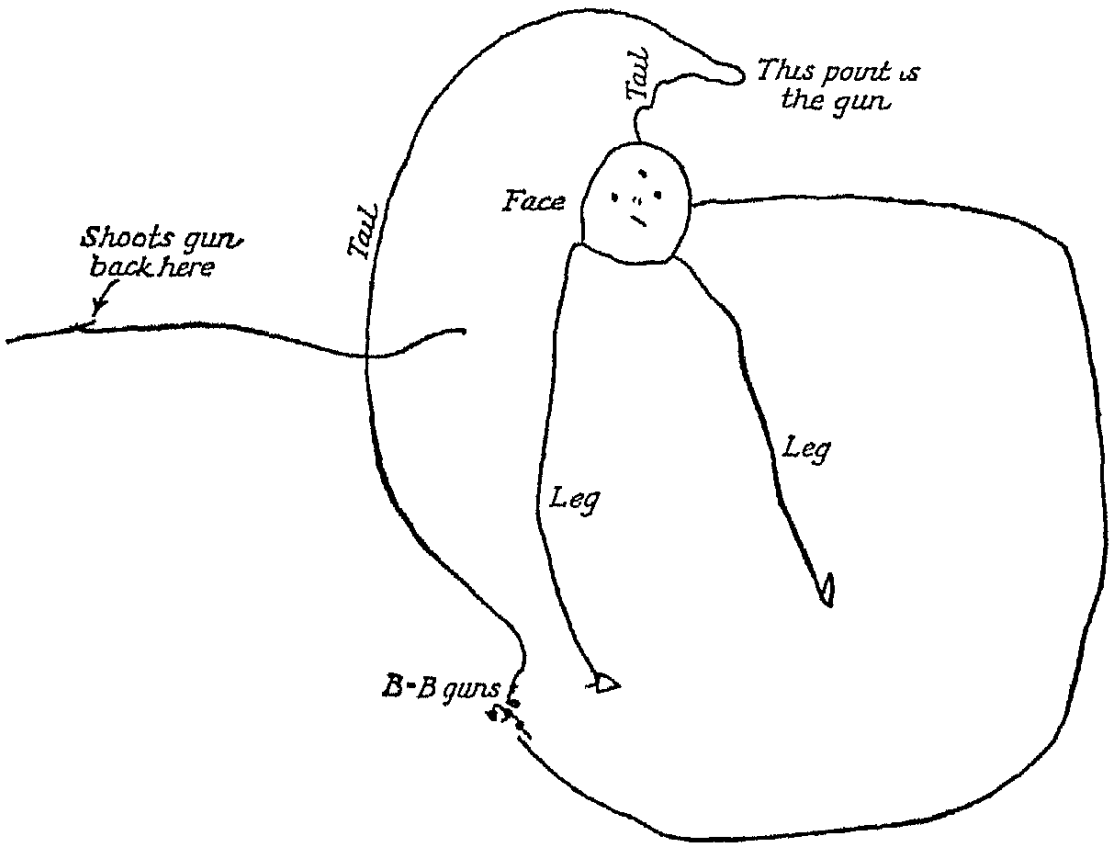


FIGURE 15

As he starts building "a castle," he announces, "My mother will be waiting about ten minutes." (His mother did not accompany him to the clinic.) He talks to himself as the construction of the castle proceeds. This construction consists of a long, uneven row of blocks bearing no resemblance to the usual structure that children build to represent a house.

His attention is caught by a block, which he picks up and points while sighting along the flat edge, as though it were a gun barrel. "This is a gun. Pretty soon I got to be going home."

During the remaining twenty minutes the interviewer took a more *active* part in the *play*. This period is marked with increasing evidence of tension and mounting anxiety and repeated attempts to go out of the field.

Interviewer: Where are the people in your castle?

Bobby: (Indicating the blocks) Here

(The interviewer turns to the dolls and hands Bobby a man doll, which Bobby accepts, ties in the auto, and then discards both to return to the blocks.)

Interviewer: What is the man doing?

Bobby. He is in the bank.

Interviewer: Why?

Bobby. He is getting out his money.

Interviewer: Why is he doing that?

Bobby: He likes his money. (Picking up one of the blocks he had used for a gun) What are these?

Interviewer: You tell me.

Bobby: They are guns. — Sometimes I like to go outside. I feel like I want to go outside now. (He is assured that he may go whenever he wants to, but he makes no effort to leave the room.)

(The interviewer then calls Bobby's attention to the smallest boy doll and asks who this is.)

Bobby. That's a boy named Mr. MacGregor. He went in his garden. — I want to go outside. (He makes no movement toward the door, however, and the interviewer picks up the boy doll, whereupon Bobby adds) That's the mailman, the boy.

Interviewer: Do you want to tell me about it?

Bobby: A little hand comes in and he falls into the fish pond and he drowns. — I sure do like to go.

(Then Bobby goes on. Another boy doll is "waiting for the train. He is running away.")

Interviewer: Why does he want to run away?

Bobby: He stole something.

Interviewer: Why did he steal something?

Bobby: He wanted to. 'Cause his mother didn't train him or something. His mother came after him, but she didn't catch him. He wants to go to his grandmother. And he took a taxi to his grandmother's. She said, "How did you get up here? Did your mother send you?" And he said, "No."

Interviewer: Did he want to go back home?

Bobby: He stayed with his grandmother.

Interviewer: Do you want to tell me more about the boy?

Bobby. He was a bad boy. He likes to steal.

Interviewer: Does he feel good when he steals?

Bobby: He feels bad. He is going out in the country. (Bobby turns to the castle he had built and starts rearranging blocks.)

Interviewer· Who lives in your castle?

Bobby: I wrecked it. A bomb came and bombed three houses in Sacramento. The little boy moved to Sacramento 'cause his grandmother didn't feed him good. (He turns again to the auto, picks it up, and asks) Whose car is this?

Interviewer: Whose car do you think it is?

Bobby: It's the father's car. He parks it in the garage. Somebody takes it and jumps it, steals it. I am tired of talking. (Then he turns to pick up one of the coaches from the railroad train and says) That's the father's train and a bomb came and bombed all the people. I want to go now. (He starts for the door and terminates the interview.)

He and the interviewer return to the interviewer's office. There Bobby is asked to draw a man while he is waiting for the social worker to come and take him home. This he does without any demur. Figure 16 represents this second drawing.

Discussion and interpretation: In this play interview with Bobby the purpose of the interviewer was to secure, in the brief time at her disposal, a glimpse of the private world of

a little boy who faces the world of adult reality with behavior that on the surface appears to be compensatory and indicative of conflict—his overt assurance, the attention-demanding character of his activities, and his apparent lack



FIGURE 16

of emotional response to reproof and control. Bobby has been referred to the juvenile court as beyond parental control.

One way to make use of the play technique is for the adult interviewer or therapist to be strictly the observer and to maintain throughout the session an entirely passive relationship. This was done during the first part of the session with Bobby. In this case, the first session promised to yield little of diagnostic value if the interviewer continued to take no part in the situation, and, since limitations of time were involved (the case was pending in court), the interviewer sought, by taking a more active part, to gain quicker insight into Bobby's conflicts.

It never ceases to be amazing how readily "a child, hiding behind the anonymity of a doll," as one of the analysts puts it, will reveal his problems — aggressive attitudes, conflicting moods of love and hate toward parents, anxieties and guilt feelings. So Bobby can admit his hates, his aggressive feelings toward his father,[20] exhibit his anxieties, and express his guilt feelings in his doll characters.

But the situation may be fraught with danger, even in the apparent safety of this anonymity. This is indicated, in Bobby's case, by an increasing discomfort when the play approaches certain regions. There are evidences of tension and abrupt attempts to leave the field — change the subject, turn to other activities, ask to go home. Erikson calls this phenomenon "play disruption" and has found it to be an important indicator of emotional disturbance in the play situation.

Besides play disruption, there is another indicator of anxi-

[20] In the light of his play interview, it is significant to note that, whereas Bobby's own father is a bootblack, the father he brags about to children on the playground is a powerful and benevolent figure in a child's world, a policeman, who brings home ice cream every night

ety observable in a decrease in the constructiveness of play activities. Bobby was asked to draw a man before the play interview was begun and again after the interview. While his drawings are never very constructive, the marked decrease in constructiveness from his first to his second drawing is obvious to the most casual inspection. Barker and his co-workers [21] found one of the results of frustration in an experiment with children to be a decrease in the constructiveness of their play. The upset emotional state which disturbs and disrupts play appears to have measurable after-effects in the degree of constructiveness of the activities following.

Bobby, for all his assurance, is an anxious, unhappy, little boy, very insecure, and vaguely troubled by guilt feelings arising from emotional tensions, disturbed family relationships, and unsatisfied needs for security and prestige.

[21] Roger G Barker, Tamara Dembo, and Kurt Lewin, Frustration and regression: an experiment with young children *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1941, 18, No. 1.

9

INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES

During the course of our interviews with boys and girls who came before the juvenile court, we find them expressing opinions, indicating likes and dislikes, revealing certain attitudes toward people, things, and events, and showing interest in some things and indifference toward others. Some of these are, as we are well aware, colored by the very situation in which the child finds himself. He is on the defensive and must protect his self-esteem, but he has need, too, to unload his burden of resentment and emotional conflict to an understanding listener.

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of possible differences in interests and attitudes of delinquent and nondelinquent boys and girls, as revealed in our interviews with them, we have analyzed their responses to certain questions and have rated their attitudes toward personal relationships, events, and things. What young people wish for, what fears they admit — as well as the fears they do not admit — their leisure interests, the books they read and like, all serve at least as straws in the wind to point toward goals for which they strive.

Wishes

In trying to evaluate what children wish for, we must first of all consider whether these wishes have any relation to

the things they really desire, whether they are an expression of their impulses or have any significance in the realm of thought and feeling.

Suppose, instead of asking him what he wished for most of all, we asked our subject to say the first word that came to his mind on hearing a certain word. We would find that his word associations revealed important facts about himself, that some words are likely to call up personal problems, that others are commonly responded to in predictable ways and that disturbances of these ordinary associations are important as indicators of certain upset mental states.

So we can say of his wishes that at least they represent what he is ready and willing to report. They are drawn from his own experience and knowledge and are often colored by his feelings.

How, with an almost uncanny precision, a boy sometimes focalizes in his three wishes an expression of what we have found to be basic drives of his personality, we have already seen: Mickey's wishes (page 205), for example, for his undiscovered island in a faraway ocean, more knowledge, and travel from which no one could hold him back. There was Percy (page 126), who wished for eternal youth for himself and his parents, riches, and no more wars. And there was Herbert (page 144), whose lack of faith in himself and need to be a powerful person speaks in his wishes for unlimited will power, unlimited faith in his beliefs, and (almost) unlimited knowledge.

But it happens sometimes that children may want to suppress their real wishes. They may say they can't think of anything or don't know what to wish, or they may hide behind the mask of some conventional expression of well-being like the wish for health, wealth, and happiness. Sometimes expressions like these reflect a difficulty in verbalization of a child's thoughts and feelings. When his "I don't

know" or "I can't" seem to indicate difficulties of this kind, a little tactful encouragement and urging from the interviewer sometimes brings a response. Usually, however, when there has been adequate rapport established between the interviewer and the child, the child enters eagerly into the situation and gives free reign to his imagination. Once admitted to the realm of fantasy, the character of his wishes offers one more key to understanding.

That a child's wishes are valid in that they are genuine and reveal desires, we have, of course, no statistical proof. There are, however, certain facts of observation that point to the genuineness of his effort to enter into the wishing mood. Most of the children appeared to accept it as though it were a part of the play world, the world of fantasy, where one does as one likes without being bound by the limitations of the world of adult reality. Some of these irksome limitations are revealed by the specific character of the wish. "Wish I could have a driver's license." "I wish I could go to a movie every day." "I wish I could be somewhere where there is always something exciting to do." One can hardly doubt the genuineness of the effort to express what he really wanted in the case of the boy who hesitated to make his choices, saying, "If I wished for a thing I might wish I'd wished for something else," or in the case of the girl, who said, with a sigh, "I'd wish for nice clothes and a car . . . oh, that's too much, isn't it?" One boy wished for a job, for work for his father, too, and then added, "And a wish I've got of my own — I don't want to tell it," but he took his wishing too seriously to leave it out! These subjective impressions of the interviewer, that children usually accept the task, lend some support to the view that material of value to the clinician may be revealed through wishes.

Clues to some of the dynamics of personality can hardly be missed in some of the wishes.

I'd like to die before my mother dies (from a boy).

I'd wish for a good lab to work in and money to buy experiments.

To hit the railroad tracks for a few years.

To have a priest at my side when I die.

I wish I could live with someone who likes me a lot and appreciates what I do.

I wish I'd obey when people tell me come.

I wish for good friends, who are not in jail.

I wish I could be ten years old again and I'd live forever and be young all the time.

Often wishes have a significance for the clinician on their own merit. They may be useful, too, in pointing to similarities and differences in interests and attitudes between boys and girls, between children of different age levels, and between delinquents and non-delinquents.

For purposes of analysis and comparison, Jersild's classification of wishes was used.[1] The wishes of our boys and girls were assorted into twenty-three categories. These categories then served as a basis for comparing our delinquent and control groups and were further analyzed to determine whether, within the specific groups studied, there were characteristics that were due mainly to differences in age, to differences in sex, or to differences in levels of intelligence.

The procedure was the same for each of our groups of children. In the course of the individual interview, each child had been asked, "Suppose you could have three wishes granted, whatever you wish most of all. What would you wish for?" His response was recorded verbatim, including any elaborations or comments that he made. Our compar-

[1] A. T. Jersild, F. V. Markey, and C. L. Jersild, *Children's fears, dreams, wishes, daydreams, likes, dislikes, pleasant, and unpleasant memories* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1933.

isons between delinquents and non-delinquents are based upon an analysis of the responses of 247 boys and girls of our original group of 300 at their first clinic interview and those of the original control group of 300. Conclusions concerning the effect of differences in age and intelligence within the delinquent group are based upon responses of 425 delinquents interviewed under similar conditions at our Juvenile Court Clinic, the original 247 to which 178 cases were added [2]

Children, both delinquent and non-delinquent, wish for:

Specific material objects and possessions
- to own a good car
- a new bike
- a BB gun
- to own a midget racing car

General inclusive benefits for self
- happiness
- good luck
- to have whatever I want
- to live and live and live on

Money
- a couple of bucks
- that I would find a thousand dollars in the street
- to be a millionaire

Wishes for (1) specific objects and possessions, (2) inclusive benefits for self, and (3) money constitute 40 per cent of all of the wishes of both delinquent and non-delinquent children of our groups. The differences between them with respect to these three categories are not significant.

Likewise, both groups, with approximately equal frequency, make wishes having to do with:

Being married and having a home
- to have a faithful wife

[2] See Appendix D, Table 4.

a home of my own
have a good husband that would treat me well
to be able to marry anyone I want to

Activities, sports, and diversions
take part in the Olympic games
go swimming all the time
wish't I was boxin'

Companionship, friends, and social contacts
go to see my brother
keep my best friend as long as I could
all the boys I know working at the same place

However, these categories – (1) being married, (2) activities and sports, and (3) companionship and friends – constitute only about 7 per cent of the total wishes of both groups.

Categories in which the two groups differ to a statistically significant extent include the following:

Delinquents more often wish:

To be out of present difficulties
be out of here
out of the trouble I'm in now
Friday (court day) was over

Parents never die, retain parents
parents to be with me always
my mother back with me, come alive again
keep mother and father as long as I could live

Relief from irritation and discomfort
live in a place where there'll be no trouble
wouldn't have to go to school
to do everything I want and not have the cops stop me
people would believe what I say

These wishes, (1) to be out of present difficulties, (2) to retain parents, and (3) for relief from irritation, constitute

approximately 10 per cent of the wishes of the delinquents and 1 per cent of the wishes of the non-delinquents.

Non-delinquents more often wish for:

Opportunities: educational, travel, accomplishments
to finish college
to be a good musician
trip to all the countries in the world

General benefits for others
world peace
everybody the money to pay all their bills
everybody would be honest

Wishes that have to do with (1) opportunities and (2) general benefits for others constitute approximately 10 per cent of the wishes of non-delinquents and 5 per cent of the wishes of the delinquents.

The remaining categories do not differentiate the two groups to a statistically significant extent, but are listed in order of magnitude of the difference found between delinquents and non-delinquents of our groups

Delinquents more often wish for:

Moral self-improvement
to be better than I am
turn out to be a good boy
somebody to help me to be good

General benefits for relatives
no deaths in the family
my mother and father would live happy
my father and mother each had the best of life

Good living quarters
a new home for my folks

Specific benefits for the self
live in a big house and have a waiter
a good time at home and have a dad
stay at the beach all summer

General inclusive immunities for the self
that nothing happens to me
not to get into trouble any more

Supernatural power
be as young and as old as I want to any time
go up to Mars
travel in outer space

These categories include approximately 20 per cent of the total wishes of delinquents and 12 per cent of the wishes of non-delinquents

Non-delinquents more often wish for·

Specific benefits for parents and relatives
my father would get out of debt
to be able to give my father a happy ending when he dies
get mother a chauffeur

To be independent, have a vocation
have a responsible position
be a doctor

(No wishes)
never wish for anything I haven't got — I'm not hard to satisfy

To be bright, smart
wisdom
real bright, but not too bright

Prestige, adventure
to be a champion
go wild-elephant hunting in Africa

Improved personal appearance
better looking

In these categories are included 27 per cent of the total wishes of the non-delinquents and 18 per cent of the wishes of delinquents.

Age differences within the delinquent group were investigated to determine whether differences in maturity were important factors in classifications of responses. Differences in level of maturity are obviously reflected in such responses as the wish "to have little cars at home and play with them" and the wish "to have a laboratory of my own and chemicals to experiment with." But both of these responses are wishes for material objects. It is possible, however, that in our group we might find, as Jersild *et al.* did in their study of a younger group that covered a wider age range, that wishes for material objects declined with age and that wishes of a more general nature increased.[3] We found, however, that within the age range covered by our groups — the average age was fifteen and half of our cases were included within the ages fourteen to sixteen — no significant differences between categories of wishes were accounted for on the score of differences in age.

Differences in intelligence within the group were found to be significant where intelligence is superior. The children of superior intelligence in our delinquent group we found to have more wishes that dealt with general inclusive benefits for the self. Children with I.Q.'s below 70 had more wishes for material objects. In these respects our findings agree with Jersild's.[4]

Sex differences between our two groups were investigated by comparing delinquent with non-delinquent boys and delinquent with non-delinquent girls. There is greater difference between the delinquent and non-delinquent girls than between the delinquent and non-delinquent boys. Comparisons between the boys and girls of the two groups, using a classification that combines similar categories,[5] indicate that

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp 21–22. [4] *Ibid*, p. 22

[5] I *Material resources* includes material objects, money, living quarters; II *Self-interest* includes sports and diversions, appearance, prestige and adventure, super-

boys express more wishes for all *material resources* than do girls, but it is noteworthy that in this respect the non-delinquent girls resemble the boys more nearly than they do the delinquent girls (Table 24). The most outstanding difference is the extent to which delinquent girls express wishes that are concerned with *self-interest.*

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE OF WISHES REPORTED*

	Boys		Girls	
	D	C	D	C
I Material resources	35 9	33 9	13.2	29.3
II Self-interest	32.5	27 7	44.4	24.2
III Self-improvement	17.7	21.9	20 9	22 4
IV Benefits for others	7 5	8 5	13 2	14 9
V No wish	6 4	8 0	8.3	9.2
	100 0	100.0	100 0	100 0

*The table is based on the wishes reported by 100 delinquent and 242 control boys, and by 48 delinquent and 58 control girls

We found, too, when we combined all of the categories that deal with social and family relationships (married, retain parents, social contacts, benefits for relatives), that more of the wishes of girls express interest in such personal-social relationships than do those of the boys.[6] Here again, how-

natural power, out of present difficulty, married, retain parents, social contacts, relief from irritations, general and specific benefits for self, and immunities for self, III *Self-improvement* includes opportunities, independence, to be bright, and moral self-improvement, IV *Benefits for others* includes general and special benefits for relatives and others; and V *No wish* expressed

[6] In the study previously cited, Jersild *et al* found that the wishes of girls dealt more frequently with family and social relations A study reported by Ruth S. Tolman, Wishes of 109 women prisoners, *J genet Psychol*, 1943, **63**, 259–272, employs Jersild's classification scheme and indicates that these adult women prisoners desire most of all to be free and out of trouble, to have happy marriages and families and are little concerned with material possessions J. N Washburne's study, The impulsions of adolescents as revealed by their written wishes, *J. juv. Res.*, 1932, **16**, 193–213, affords little basis for comparison with our study, but does report that the wishes of girls are more social than those of boys.

ever, the wishes of the non-delinquent girls are more like those of the boys than like those of the delinquent girls.

Boys:	D	12.2 %	C	12.5 %
Girls:	D	29.2 %	C	15.5 %

It is apparent that we find in children's wishes one source of expression for needs that motivate behavior. The wishes that are reported by delinquents resemble the wishes of non-delinquents in that they are oriented to certain common goals, the desire to possess things that children enjoy and use and from the possession of which they derive satisfaction, the desire for such personal benefits as happiness, and the desire for the satisfactions of possessing money. To a lesser extent they think about and desire social benefits, such as the presence of a desired companion, wife, husband, friend, and participation in social activities, sports, and diversions. The delinquents, under the stress of more specific tensions and irritations, have more desires which reflect the need to be free from irritations of many sorts, out of present trouble and other environmental pressures, and their wishes reflect to some extent their greater insecurity with respect to parental affection. Non-delinquents are more often concerned with the more remote goals, with opportunities, future achievements, and, to a very limited extent, with altruistic ideas.

Fears

One of the inquiries that was made during the interview concerned fear. The child was asked, in each case, what he was most afraid of. Perhaps one would expect that the adolescent would be less likely to admit his fears than either the younger child or the adult. The adolescent has his insecure status as an adult to defend and perhaps normally needs more bravado to protect his self-esteem. It is, of course, obvious that the fact that a child does not admit being

afraid has little relation to the actual existence of fears in his experience. He may be unwilling to admit his fear, or he may not be conscious of his fear.

One highly significant contrast between our delinquent and our non-delinquent boys and girls appears. The delinquents, to a far greater extent than the non-delinquents, say they are not afraid of anything. This difference between the two groups is not due to differences in age, intelligence, or sex. That is, whether we compare the younger with the older children of our group, the less intelligent with the more intelligent, or boys with girls, there are always more delinquents who say they are not afraid of anything. One of them said, "Afraid? I'm not afraid of anything — I might be, but I won't show it!" It is always the delinquent who has greater need of bravado.

To the extent that delinquent behavior represents an attempt to adjust to tension-creating situations, to that extent it constitutes a defense mechanism against inferiority, against social disapproval. The compensatory mechanisms serve to reduce tension and to dispel fear by overassertion of confidence. The finding that delinquents say they have fewer fears, either because they are unwilling to admit them or because they are not conscious of them, offers significant confirmation of our findings concerning the tension-reducing functions of defense mechanisms in the motivation of delinquent behavior.

With the understanding, of course, that verbal responses to the question, "What are you most afraid of?" may have little relation to the situation that sets off the upset state of the organism that the psychologist calls the fear response, let us consider what, naively or artfully, children say they are afraid of.

As we found to be the case in our analysis of children's wishes, the content of a given response may reveal material of clinical significance. There was one little boy who hesi-

tated long before answering my question and finally said, with every evidence of agitation, "'Fraid of mans." Further explanation was forthcoming with the interviewer's sympathetic encouragement. "Mans kill us in the night — kill us and drink the blood. My mother told me." This has been my only contact with the vampire superstition, but other folk beliefs, particularly with respect to death and the occult, are met at all age levels. Fears of death and of the unknown appear in children's reports as fears of "spooky

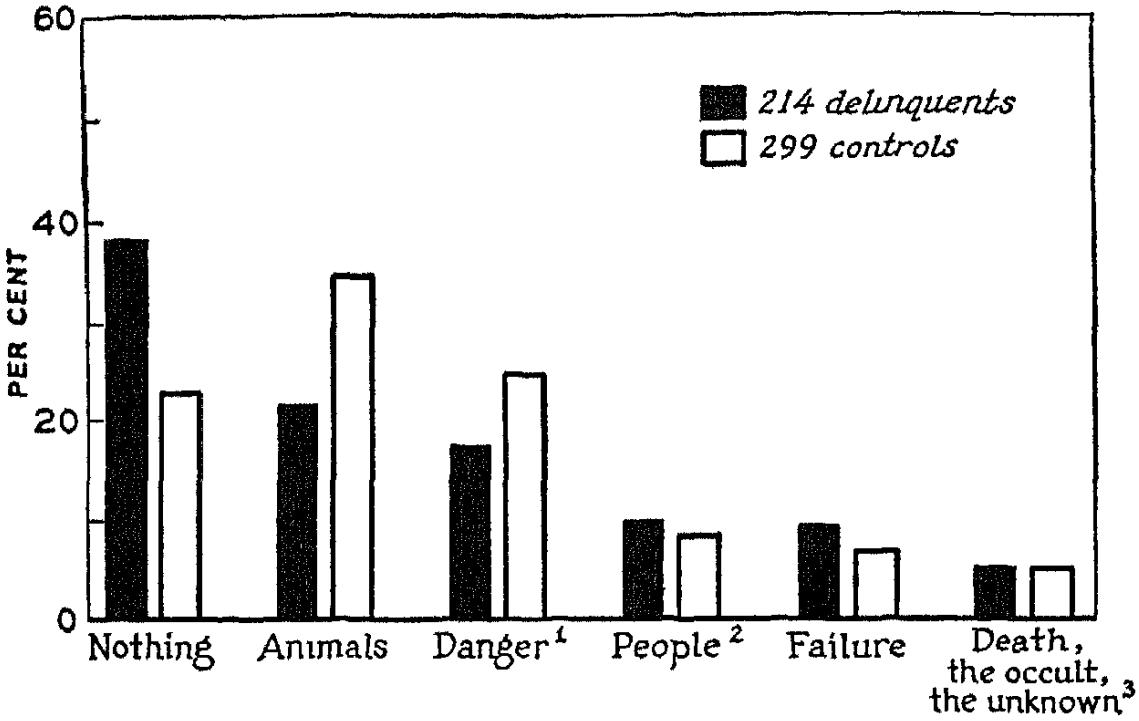


FIGURE 17

FEARS

Of delinquents compared with those of non-delinquents. These percentages are based on the numbers of children naming fears in the various categories.

1. This category includes bodily injury to others, and startling events which were tabulated separately.

2. In this category are included fears of particular people and things and bad people.

3. Included here are fears of darkness and bad dreams.

things," "skeletons," "dead men," "had to stay in the room where my brother died," and the like. One delinquent girl, very realistically, admitted that she was most afraid, just then, of "having a baby with no name for it." Someone else is afraid of not getting promoted! One boy is afraid of somebody's putting a gun in his back, another is "afraid to face it when caught doing something wrong." There are particular people of whom children are afraid; again and again, from delinquents, the response is "my father." This response may well be related to the occasion of the child's detention — that is, "I'm afraid of my father because I have gotten into this trouble." Fears of animals run the gamut from the lion to the mouse and constitute the largest single category of non-delinquents' responses.

The Jersild categories [7] were found to be the most suitable for our groups and were used for the classification of responses. A comparison of the responses of 214 delinquents and 299 non-delinquents is presented in Figure 17 and Table 25.

TABLE 25 AGE AND SEX DIFFERENCES IN FEARS REPORTED BY DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS*

	Boys		Girls		Under 15		15 or older	
	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C
Nothing	42.3	25 9	20.0	8.9	24 2	20.2	44.1	23 8
Animals	20 0	32.9	27.5	41.1	33.9	52.8	16.4	26.7
Danger	17 1	25.1	17 5	21 5	12.9	12 4	19.1	29.5
People	8.6	8 3	15.0	8.9	17 7	11.2	6.6	7.1
Failure	10 3	7.4	5.0	3.6	9.7	1.1	9.2	9 0
Death and the unknown	2.9	2.0	15.0	19.7	4.8	6 7	5.3	4 8

* Percentages based on the number of children naming fears in the various categories

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 144–159 See also, A. T. Jersild and F. B. Holmes, *Children's fears.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Bureau of Publications, 1935.

Two statistically significant differences emerge: (1) delinquents say more often than non-delinquents that they are afraid of nothing; (2) non-delinquents more often than delinquents express fear of some animal. Delinquents express more fears of failure, of bad people, startling events and death; non-delinquents express more fears of physical danger, particular people or objects, and of the dark and strangeness. Boys are more often afraid of nothing than are girls, and the delinquents of each sex more often than the controls of the same sex. Both delinquent and control girls express more fears of animals than boys of either group. Younger children of both delinquent and control groups express more fears of animals than do the older children, but with respect to admitting no fears, whereas it is outstandingly the older delinquent boys (44 per cent of them) who have need to assert that they are not afraid of anything, actually in all cases there are more delinquents than non-delinquents who need to say they are not afraid.

Likes and dislikes

Likes and dislikes with respect to a number of things were assessed. Besides occupational preferences, recreations, and attitudes toward school, which have already been discussed, reading preferences, movie interests, and choice of desert island companions were investigated in the course of the interview.

1. *Reading preferences.*[8] Children were asked what kind of books they liked to read and asked to name their favorite book. To an overwhelming extent, in both groups, books of adventure were preferred to all others – by 67 per cent of the delinquents and by 68 per cent of the non-delinquents. This preference extended in the case of the delinquents to the designation of an adventure story when they were asked

[8] See Appendix A, Table 8

to name their favorite book. The adventure preference was not quite so marked for favorite book in the case of non-delinquents but still far exceeded any other category.

To a significantly greater extent the non-delinquents preferred historical books, nature, and emotional fiction, though each of these categories includes only a relatively small percentage of the total choices. As between fiction and non-fiction, 86 per cent of delinquent choices and 84 per cent of non-delinquent choices fall into the fiction category.

Differences between boys and girls were noteworthy. Again adventure choices outnumber all others for the boys of both delinquent and control groups and for the girls of the delinquent group. The girls of the control group say they prefer adventure stories, but name as their favorite book some story dealing with the home theme and to a significantly greater extent than the delinquent girls prefer emotional fiction.

On the whole, the reading preferences expressed by delinquents and by non-delinquents are far more alike than they are different from each other. Both groups prefer fiction, and the preferred type of fiction is adventure.

2. *Movie interests.* Interests in movies,[9] expressed in response to questions concerned with how often they attended and what kind of pictures they liked best, indicate similar preferences. The one significant difference between delinquents and non-delinquents is in the number of delinquent children who attend movies more than once a week (Fig. 18).

Preferences for particular kinds of pictures divide along sex lines rather than according to delinquent as against non-delinquent. Adventure is top choice for the boys, the romantic love theme for the girls, though adventure is a close second for delinquent girls whereas for the non-delinquent

[9] See Appendix A, Table 9.

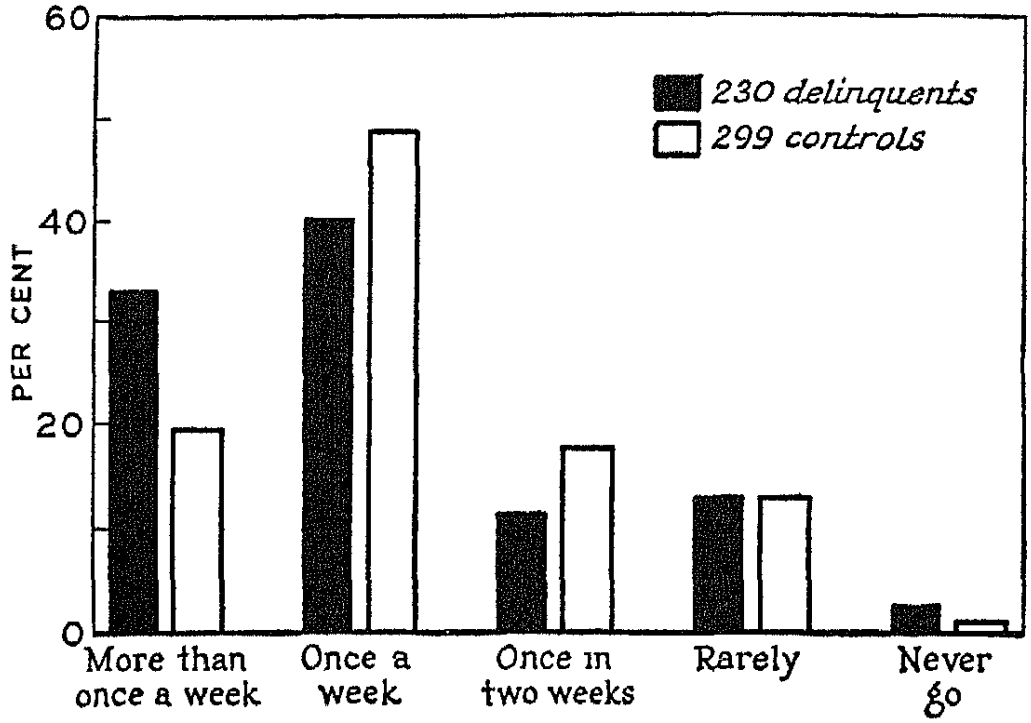


FIGURE 18

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT MOVIES

girls adventure drops far below their preference for the romantic love theme (Table 26).

3. *Choice of desert island companions.*[10] This choice offered some interesting, though not highly significant, contrasts between our two groups. The question was, "Suppose you were going to a desert island to live and could take only three people with you. Whom would you choose?" The outstanding choices of both groups consisted of members of the child's family. These include approximately 40 per cent of all choices of each group when delinquents are compared with non-delinquents and all three of each child's choices are limited to members of his family. The most outstanding difference was the extent to which the non-delinquents chose companions of their own age, or, if their choice included some members of the family, included also an own-

[10] See Appendix A, Table 10.

TABLE 26 FAVORITE MOVING PICTURE

PERCENTAGE OF CHOICES EXPRESSED BY DELINQUENT AND NON-DELINQUENT BOYS AND GIRLS

	Boys		Girls	
	D	C	D	C
Adventure	65.4	52 7	36 1	17 0
Romantic love	13 0	23.1	41.6	59.2
Nature	6.5	7.0	——	3.4
All kinds	5.4	3 3	5 6	——
Comics	4 4	4.5	5.6	1.7
Historical	1 6	5 8	8.3	10.2
Miscellaneous	3 7	3.6	2 8	8 5

age companion. Impersonal choices, on the other hand, occurred more often in the delinquent group, e.g., scientist, carpenter, and cook or guide, rifleman, and tracker, and more of the delinquents chose to be alone.

Though some eighteen different combinations of choices were tabulated the main contrasts are brought out by comparisons between four categories: (1) where the majority of the choices consisted of members of the child's own family; (2) where the majority of the choices were own-age companions; (3) where the majority of choices were impersonal; and (4) other combinations included such choices as husband or wife, nobody, and one dog.

An analysis of the choices which takes into account the influence of age and sex reveals that it is the boys of both groups who choose companions of their age rather than the girls, though the difference still favors the non-delinquent boys. Impersonal choices are made by the boys of both groups and by delinquent girls to a greater extent than by the non-delinquent girls. (See Tables 27 and 28.)

Age differences are not so marked as the differences in the character of the choices of boys when contrasted with the

TABLE 27 DESERT ISLAND CHOICES OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS

	DELINQUENT	CONTROL
Majority own family	57.9	60 2
Majority own-age companions	18.8	27.6
Majority impersonal	15 5	9.2
All other combinations	7 8	3 0

TABLE 28 DESERT ISLAND CHOICES ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

	Boys		Girls		Under 15		15 or older	
	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C
Family	52 8	54.6	77 8	83 8	69 4	62 1	53.5	59.4
Companions	22.4	31.9	4.4	9.0	9 7	27 6	22 3	27 5
Impersonal	16 7	10 9	11.1	1 8	16.1	8.0	15.3	9 7
Other	8 1	2 6	6 7	5 4	4 8	2 3	8 9	3 4

choices of girls. Delinquents under fifteen choose fewer own-age companions than do the rest and the impersonal choices of both older and younger delinquents exceed the impersonal choices of non-delinquents.

Similarities and differences in attitudes [11]

A number of contrasts in the attitudes of the children of our two groups toward people and circumstances in their environment offer revealing sidelights on these boys and girls and their homes.

1. Attitudes toward punishment revealed striking differences between the two groups with respect to methods and responses to home discipline.

[11] See Appendix A, Table 3.

"Have you ever been punished?" was answered in the affirmative overwhelmingly by both groups, but by more of the delinquents than of the controls – 88 per cent of the delinquents, 80 per cent of the non-delinquents.

Both delinquents and non-delinquents thought they had sometimes been punished unjustly – approximately 65 per cent.

To the inquiry concerning what kind of punishment the child thought did him the most good, the replies were very revealing.

TABLE 29

KINDS OF PUNISHMENT CHILDREN THOUGHT DID THEM MOST GOOD*

PUNISHMENT	DELINQUENT	CONTROL
None	4 9	2.8
Licking	28 3	17 1
Deprivation of privileges	35.1	35.2
Talking to	28 3	43 6
Miscellaneous	6.3	3 5

* Percentages based on the number of children naming punishments in the various categories.

There are two striking differences in attitude toward punishment revealed in this table, the more favorable attitude of the non-delinquents toward being talked to and the fact that a larger percentage of the delinquents than of the control group say that "a good licking" is the thing that does them the most good. Perhaps these percentages reflect only differences in parental discipline and the child's acceptance of things as they are. One half-starved and altogether cowed child who had been locked for days in a dark, wet basement for punishment said, "Oh, yes, I deserved the punishment. I was a very bad girl." (After breaking something, she had run away from home and then been locked in the base-

ment.) Differences in home standards are there. There may be, too, differences in the responses of individuals to these standards. It is also true that it is more often the delinquent who says, "No punishment ever did me any good."

2. Another defensive attitude of the delinquents is revealed in response to the question, "Do you want *other people to like you?*" Of course, the usual response for both groups is some variation of "Sure," but for delinquents of both sexes an "I don't care, they don't need to like me," is the exceptional response which occurs to a greater than chance extent when compared with the same response from non-delinquents. Non-delinquents say they want to be liked in 99.2 per cent of the cases, delinquents in 92.3 per cent of the cases.

3. Whether they think they are *liked best by* children of their own sex or by the opposite sex reveals differences in attitudes between the boys and the girls, but differences appear, also, between the delinquents and the non-delinquents, a difference which is accounted for primarily by the attitudes of the delinquent girls (Table 30).

Such a question, however tactfully brought up by the interviewer, impinges on problems of such high emotional

TABLE 30 **SEX BY WHICH CHILDREN THINK THEY ARE LIKED BEST**

LIKED BEST BY	DELINQUENT		CONTROL	
Same sex	67 6		81 0	
Opposite sex	10.1		4 7	
Both sexes alike	22.3		14.3	
	Boys		Girls	
Liked best by	D	C	D	C
Same sex	73 0	83 3	47 5	71.1
Opposite sex	8.1	4 4	17.5	5 8
Both sexes alike	18.9	12.3	35 0	23 1

content for adolescents with their newly awakened consciousness of sex, that one would be on very uncertain ground in attempting to attach much significance to these opinions. One might point out, however, a greater willingness on the part of delinquents, especially delinquent girls, to depart in their responses from the more or less stereotyped self-conscious attitude with which adolescents face the world.

4. Other expressed attitudes toward friends, toward their parents' attitudes toward them, and toward favoritism, reveal no statistically significant differences between the verbal responses of delinquents and non-delinquents. It is, however, noteworthy that more of the delinquents do say that they think they are not liked by their parents, that more of the delinquents say their brothers and sisters are treated better than they are, and that more of the non-delinquents say they are not anxious to be grown up.

Five years later a hundred boys of each group were interviewed again, it will be recalled. These later follow-up interviews yield further information of value in surveying the interests and attitudes of these young adults toward themselves and the environmental pressures of their world. The Tolman questionnaire [12] was used as a basis for the follow-up interview.[13] Many of the similarities and differences between these two groups have already been pointed out in connection with our discussion of the interaction of personal and social factors in the life-patterns of these young people. We shall consider here their attitudes toward polit-

[12] Ruth S. Tolman, Differences between two groups of adult criminals *Genet Psychol Monogr.*, 1938, **20**, 353–458. The outline covered by the interview will be found in Appendix F.

[13] I am indebted to Katherine C. Walker, Alex C. Sherriffs, Elizabeth Mecia, and Florence Bell for their intelligent and skillful handling of the delicate task of interviewing the boys in our follow-up groups.

ical and social factors and toward authority, the character of their more mature reading interests and liking for ideas.

1. Interest in *political affairs* and attitudes toward *social trends* were conspicuous by their absence in both groups. Age is a factor in the case of the lack of interest in political affairs, but it is surprising to find so little of the political insurgence of youth in a group of twenty-year-olds whether they are socially underprivileged or not. We have only two young radicals in the whole group, delinquent or not delinquent!

Degree of interest in politics was rated on a five-point scale where a rating of 1 indicates a high degree of interest and 5 complete indifference (Fig. 19). Though both groups exhibit so much political apathy, there is a statistically significant difference between them in the degree of interest manifested. The fact that the amount of difference

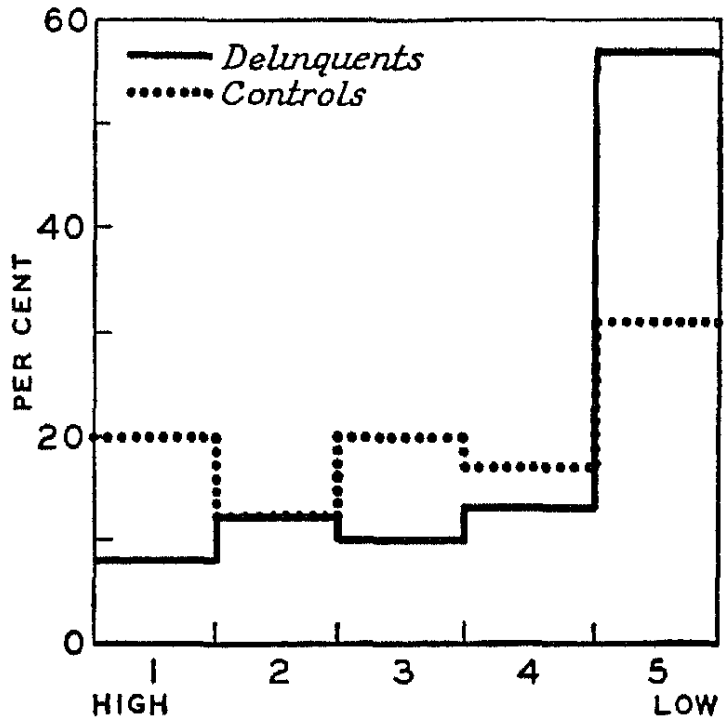


FIGURE 19

INTEREST IN POLITICS

between the two groups is reduced by comparing only the eighty cases who are matched for age further accentuates the differences between them. One would expect that with increasing age would come an increasing interest in political affairs which would tend to favor the delinquent group, which was about a year older at the time of the follow-up study.

Political conservatism was rated for those cases in both groups who exhibited sufficient interest to serve as a basis for a rating. It was impossible to rate on political conservatism 77 per cent of the delinquents and 66 per cent of the controls, who either said they "didn't know" or were willing to "let someone else worry" about how the country was run.

Interest in social problems, measures for social reform, labor problems — the social consciousness of the groups — was not measurably high. Eighty per cent of the delinquents

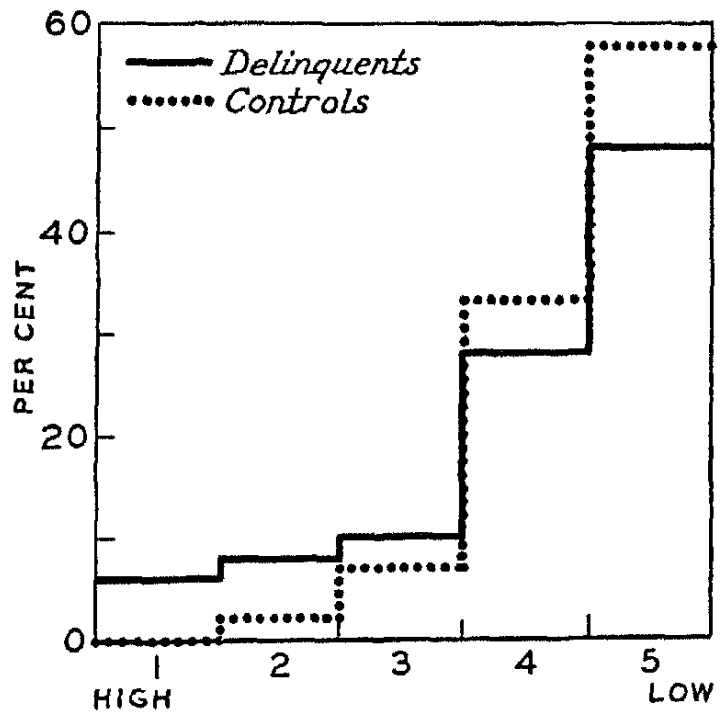


FIGURE 20
ANTAGONISM TO AUTHORITY

and 77 per cent of the controls were rated as either unaware or indifferent to problems of social welfare.

2. Degree of *antagonism to authority* was not found to be significantly different for the two groups (Fig. 20). Approximately half showed no resentment. The difference which appeared to be most striking was the fact that in the delinquent group were a few cases whose hostility was marked and bitter whereas in the control group no such bitterness was expressed.

3. *Reading interests* were assessed in terms of a rating which aimed to take account of the character and quality of the material reported (Fig. 21). Thus a rating of 1 implied an interest in books of high literary or technical quality while a 5 rating was given in case the reading interests expressed were inferior in quality in that they were undiscriminating and indicated a taste for stuff of no literary merit —

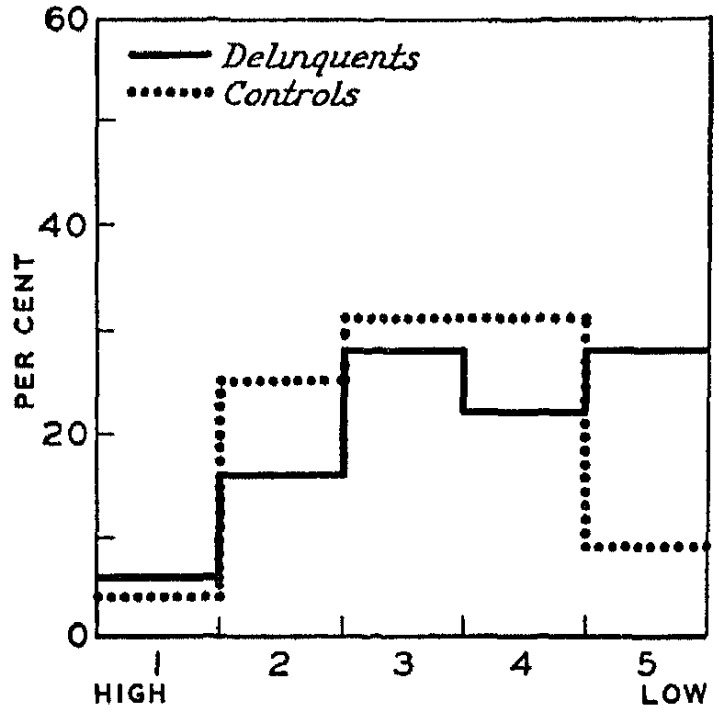


FIGURE 21

READING INTERESTS

the pulp magazines. Such interests could, of course, be rated only where an interest in reading was indicated. Twenty-two per cent of the delinquents and 11 per cent of the controls indicated that they had no interest in reading. Of those whose expressed interests could be rated, no significant difference was found between the two groups though the quality of the reading of the delinquents is both higher and lower than that of the controls. Age was found not to be a factor.

4. A rating on *liking for ideas* was an attempt to assess the level of interest that the boy exhibited in dealing with ideas, an interest in reading, in writing in general, in dealing with abstractions rather than in expressing himself in muscular and mechanical ways. Here the controls showed a significant superiority (Fig. 22).

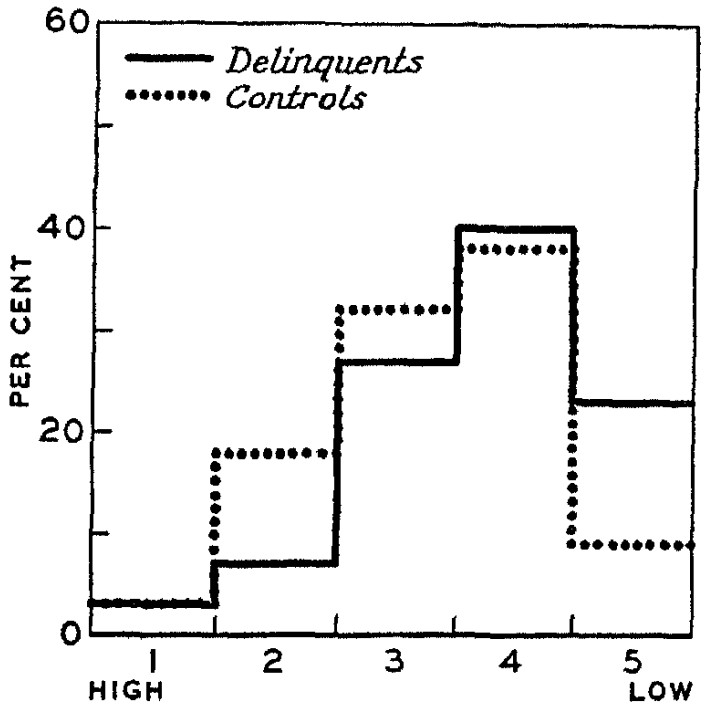


FIGURE 22

LIKING FOR IDEAS

★ 10 ★

FACTORS IN AFTER-TREATMENT ADJUSTMENT

WHAT HAPPENS to delinquent children who have grown up? Some of them, we know, continue to behave in socially maladjusted ways. The adult criminal is, in retrospect, the child delinquent. What makes the delinquent child continue to engage in socially and personally inadequate ways of satisfying his motives, and why do not all delinquents continue to be maladjusted?

These are questions which are extremely difficult to answer because, as we have seen, there is no delinquent type and there is no set of circumstances that is found to be the invariable accompaniment of delinquent behavior. Antisocial conduct has been found to be associated with many different combinations of conditions, and children living in similar physical situations are subject to different emotional tensions for which they have varying degrees of frustration tolerance.

Part of the current pessimism concerning the way delinquent children turn out is due to our overhasty generalizations concerning cause-and-effect relationships and our lack of clarity with respect to what constitutes successful adjustment and how to measure such adjustment. Current research reveals the fact that large numbers of children who have been placed in reformatories become adult criminals,

that large numbers of children who have been in juvenile court and clinic continue to behave in antisocial ways that make it necessary to bring them back into court for further official action. Public opinion concludes that institutions and children's courts are failures and/or that delinquency is incurable.

After-careers of delinquents

Take, for example, the Glueck studies which are our most extensive and painstaking surveys of the after-careers of adults who, in their youth, were committed to reformatories or dealt with in some manner by the juvenile court. These studies show that, in the case of five hundred young men who had been committed to a reformatory, 80 per cent failed to meet the criteria of successful adjustment when they were investigated five years after their release from the reformatory. These criteria of successful adjustment were ascertainable facts concerning (1) criminal behavior, (2) industrial condition, (3) family relationships, (4) meeting obligations to family, and (5) habits and use of leisure. Shall we conclude that the reformatory as such is a failure? — or ask, as Judge Cabot does in his preface,

> Why should men thoroughly accustomed and habituated to crime and to dissipated and deteriorating habits of living, men interested in no honest work, in no harmless recreation, men with but the feeblest of home ties — why, I say, should such men change all these bad habits and acquire good ones merely because they are confined for a little over a year in an institution where they are forced to do work in which they have little or no interest, work chosen almost without reference to their future career or their present tastes, and pursued, not principally for its educational value, but for its economic results, for which the prisoners care nothing? . . .
>
> Why should this regime reform anyone? In my experience

> there are few tougher and more unyielding structures in the world than a bad habit. It does not change as the result of a few months of forced, unpaid, and unpalatable labour.[1]

Later surveys of the after-careers of these men have little to offer to dispel the gloom of the earlier picture. They continue to be maladjusted adults. At the age of forty, only a third of the group has reformed. But these men were young adults when they were committed to the reformatory. This study began with a group of men who had already developed antisocial patterns of living. The average age of commitment to the reformatory was twenty years.

Does the picture change if the survey deals with a less highly selected group of offenders? The Gluecks have reported the results of their follow-up studies of juvenile delinquents who had been brought into the Boston Juvenile Court and examined at the request of that Court at the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic. The average age of these boys was thirteen and a half at the time of their examination at the Clinic. The studies report three successive follow-up surveys made at five-year intervals of these boys following clinic prescription and court treatment. Since the authors were concerned with the effectiveness of the coordination of court and clinic treatment efforts,[2] they chose only those delinquent boys who had been referred to the Judge Baker Clinic, and who, as we have already seen (Chapter 6, page 165), were not representative juvenile court cases. Having already biased their results in the direction of maladjustment because their cases were among those least likely to succeed, it should hardly be surprising that the authors found at the end of the first follow-up period, and at each successive follow-up period, a high percentage

[1] Richard C. Cabot, in the foreword to Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *500 criminal careers* New York: Knopf, 1930, p. ix.

[2] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Juvenile delinquents grown up*, p. 1.

of failures among boys who were already repeated offenders or who had "some obvious mental or physical handicap" to begin with.

Recidivism as a criterion of failure

But in this study the criterion of failure is recidivism. While few would question the fact that the persistence of antisocial conduct is indicative of unsuccessful adjustment, the use of the fact that the child was brought before the court after committing another offense as a criterion of maladjustment is not so obvious. No clinical psychologist can think of conduct as good or bad, adjusted or maladjusted, in terms of any single item of conduct. The patterns of adjustment are so intricate that no single event can serve as an index. This fact is abundantly recognized in the earlier criteria of successful adjustment of the reformatory treatment group and in the use of these factors in predictive tables. It may even be that a delinquent act is indicative of an improved adjustment. Larry's being apprehended by the police and returned to the juvenile court is a case in point.

Larry was in the company of a boy his own age who had never been "in trouble" before. But Larry, who was known to the police, was charged with a second offense. The boys were caught pulling light switches in outside fuse boxes, thus plunging dwellings into sudden darkness. It might be a kids' trick or, to the police mind, a preparation for burglarizing a house. The important thing in Larry's case was the psychological significance of this event in terms of his own social adjustment. Involved in an unresolvable family conflict situation, Larry had become unwholesomely absorbed in the emotional atmosphere of an upper-room mission religious sect. He was first brought into court after he had burglarized a church, of another denomination, and stolen tracts which he distributed on street corners and at high

school. His contacts with other young people his age were rigidly restricted by his fanatical intolerance of most of the amusements of his schoolmates. One of the early efforts to get him to participate in a class jolly-up resulted in his being found hidden in the wings of the auditorium, hands clenched at his sides and eyes tightly closed to shut out the sight of boys and girls in each other's arms dancing. — That this boy was out seeking an evening's adventure in company with a companion his own age was a major clinical triumph rather than an indication of continued maladjustment.

Some of our cases who do not recidivate are far more seriously maladjusted than many who do come back to court, having committed further offenses. Clyde (page 80) continues to be a socially maladjusted boy even though he has never been brought into court for further offenses.

One might realistically raise this question, too: Why should court and clinic measure the success of their treatment procedures in terms of whether or not a cessation of antisocial conduct[3] was brought about by one prescribed course of action? Environmental circumstances are constantly changing, and the course of action that, in view of all the known facts in January, 1942, was clinically sound, may not be proved unsound by the circumstances that in June, 1943, make a different course of action necessary. The children's court can more profitably think of itself in terms of the

[3] The fact that an increased amount of aggression under treatment often accompanies progress toward adjustment is a concept which has long been familiar to clinical psychologists A dramatic illustration of this in a group of delinquent boys is Aichhorn's account of the behavior of the boys in his institution who were suddenly released from the punishment consequences of their infractions of rules. The theory was that these especially unruly boys had great need for affection, of which they had been deprived in their homes The treatment consisted in removing all punishment measures and handling every outbreak of aggression with sympathetic understanding. Under this regime the boys had to try out the limits of this new tolerance by greatly exaggerated aggression before their conduct improved under the treatment See August Aichhorn, *Wayward youth* New York: Viking Press, 1935

parental relationship in which it was originally conceived and which does not count its failures in terms of a continuing relationship.

The Gluecks report for their juvenile court cases three successive follow-up surveys. At the end of the first five-year period the boys are nineteen and have reached an age where they are beyond the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. During that period at least one additional treatment in the form of court action has been necessary, since the original clinic prescription, in 88 per cent of the cases. If the clinic recommendation was followed, it was found to be less often necessary to take further court action on a case. The percentage of successes continues to increase with each successive five-year interval until, fifteen years later, it has reached 33 per cent.

Environmental factors and adjustment

The answer to the question why the delinquent child continues to be delinquent is basically involved with the problem of his needs and the existence of opportunities for satisfying those needs directly or finding acceptable substitute satisfactions. Determining the relationship of factors in the environment to successful and unsuccessful adjustment offers one method of approach.

The Gluecks, in their studies of criminal behavior, have investigated the life-situations of two groups of adults — *500 Delinquent Careers* of men who have been in a reformatory and a similar study of *Five Hundred Delinquent Women* — and the circumstances in the lives of *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* which could be tabulated in relation to their conduct following the end of treatment. They found, for the juvenile delinquents, how often in the case of those boys who were failures, as compared with those who were successes, certain circumstances occurred. The fre-

quency of occurrence of circumstances which are sufficiently highly related to the percentage of post-treatment recidivism was used as a basis for working out tables for predicting the chances for continuance of delinquent behavior.[4] While such tables offer only a statement of probabilities, the circumstances which these authors found to be sufficiently critical to serve as a basis for prediction as to success or failure should throw light on our problem of why children continue to be delinquent by disclosing what environmental factors have been found to be correlated with failure to work out a satisfactory adjustment. The factors found at the end of the first follow-up period to be most closely related to subsequent recidivism were parental discipline, school retardation, school conduct, age at first misbehavior, and length of time between onset of delinquency and first clinical examination.[5] Unhappily for the psychologist interested in problems of motivation, the predictive factors for chances of good behavior which were arrived at for the final fifteen-year span were data of such generality as birthplace of parents, time parents were in the United States, parents' religion, and age of offender at first misbehavior.

Clinical evaluation of component factors

A clinical method for evaluating factors in the life-history of a child as a basis for treatment procedures is the component-factor method worked out by Rogers.[6] This scale for rating forces which have operated in the child's experience includes factors ranging from influences which are destructive of the child's welfare to conditions and forces favorable for adjustment. By taking account of the limitations im-

[4] See *Juvenile delinquents grown up*, pp. 135–146. Tables for predicting behavior after various forms of treatment will be found in the same volume, pp. 147–215.

[5] *One thousand juvenile delinquents*, p. 186.

[6] Carl R. Rogers, *Clinical treatment of the problem child*, pp. 40–176.

posed by unalterable conditions and focusing attention on those situations which can be changed to affect behavior in the direction of improved adjustment, the method offers a practical, as well as psychologically sound, approach to an analysis of needs and satisfactions in the individual case. We shall see how this method may be applied in analyzing the probable success of foster-home placement in the case of Paul. Rogers has utilized the results of clinical research as a basis for evaluating the relationship of each component factor to the probable success or failure of foster-home placement in a given case.

The role of certain psychological factors in adjustment is brought out in the Healy-Bronner clinical research reported in their volume *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment.* The research dealt with delinquents who were paired with their non-delinquent brothers for purposes of comparison and contrast. These authors offer in answer to the question "Why in the same family is one child delinquent and another not delinquent?" the observation that among the delinquents were found profound emotional disturbances to a far greater extent than among their non-delinquent siblings. Disturbing emotional experiences were, of course, found among the sibling controls, but these emotional discomforts were compensated for in counterbalancing satisfactions.

> Either they found some other affectional relationship which substituted for the one barred to them, or their feeling of inadequacy in some direction was compensated for by satisfactory achievement in other ways, or distress about a family situation was made more tolerable for them by active allegiance to one of the parents.[7]

Purposive character of delinquent conduct

Essential to an understanding of delinquency and its treat-

[7] William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New light on delinquency and its treatment.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, p. 130.

ment is the recognition of the function of delinquent conduct. All current clinical research, which takes account of the dynamics of behavior, the forces that motivate conduct, emphasizes the purposive character of delinquent acts. Delinquent behavior is goal-directed. Tommy's stealing (page 133) was in the service of a need to be important somewhere, somehow, to someone. Mickey (page 203) needs to compensate for his inferiority by the thrills and personal prestige that high adventure yields. In defense of his inferiority, Wilmer (page 195) developed bullying behavior and defiance of authority.

The meaning of delinquency Healy and Bronner see in terms of its purposes, to escape from unpleasant situations, to achieve compensatory substitute satisfactions, to protect, bolster up, or inflate the sensitive ego, to seek self-punishment for conscious or unconscious guilt feelings. We can discern these purposes only in the total life-pattern of an individual, we can take account of them only in the aggregate. In the service of a need, what kinds of satisfactions are acceptable substitutes? Many delinquent children, we have seen, suffer emotional discomfort because of the frustration of a need for affectional response from others — especially parents. Non-delinquent children, subject to the same emotional deprivation, find substitute satisfactions for thwarted needs in ways that are not socially disapproved Our most promising approach to the problem of treatment would seem to be to seek an answer to the question, Why are not all children delinquent?

Methods in this research

Our own procedure has been to try to determine in what ways our delinquents differed from our non-delinquents at the time each group was first contacted and then five years later, during which time other events, such as continuing to

attend school, continuing to engage in antisocial conduct, leaving home and getting a job, had been operating differentially in each group. We have certain interim data for our delinquent group which we do not have for our non-delinquents. These data which concern treatment procedures and continuing antisocial conduct we shall try to assess in relation to later adjustment for whatever additional information they may yield concerning the difference between children who are single offenders and those who recidivate.

It is only in relation to the individual case that we can see something of the interaction of forces in the life-pattern. And it cannot be too much emphasized that we see only part of the picture. We came into the show late and can only surmise what went before, again a little bit of the film and we try to guess how it will come out. We have only little bits of many different pictures, but, while the variety of incidents is almost unlimited in the human drama, the number of plots, as every novelist knows, is limited. In the terminology of the conceptual schema of our Thematic Apperception Test, the basic needs are enumerative, the environmental press with which they interact can be categorized and the resulting themas predicated. The common themas are surprisingly few and center around comprehensible plots.

While it is only in relation to the individual case that we can point out specific relationships of needs to opportunities and illustrate the applicability of certain criteria for determining treatment needs, the main emphasis of this chapter will be upon our statistical analysis of the role, in adjustment, played by various factors that can be enumerated for both delinquents and non-delinquents at the young-adult level.

Treatment procedures and continuing antisocial conduct

Evaluating the results of treatment for groups of cases is especially difficult because cause-and-effect relationships are not clear. Stating the degree of success or failure of a given type of treatment in terms of the percentage of cases who meet the criterion, whether it be in terms of recidivism or rating on adjustment or what you will, is apt to be misleading. We want to contrast the results, say of institutionalization, with the results of probation to an officer of the juvenile court. On the basis of later successes and failures, we seek to evaluate each form of treatment. But the boys who are placed in institutions are likely to be more serious offenders than are the boys who are placed on probation, and, too, institutionalization is apt to be a last-resort measure so that in any given instance we may not be measuring the effectiveness of institutionalization, but of institutionalization plus whatever other forms of treatment preceded it. Thus any treatment category is ambiguous. Suppose there are more failures after institutionalization; we do not know from that fact that institutionalization is a worse form of treatment than probation.

Let us first note some of the complexities of the interrelationships between treatment procedures and outcomes by considering what was done in the case of Paul, of the brothers Maguire, and of Loren.

Paul

At our first contact with Paul, we find him an attractive, friendly, likable boy. He has many friends among the boys of his age, a keen interest in sports, and an adolescent zest for aviation. He has little interest in his school work and is characterized by his teachers as a constant "discipline problem" because he is continually engaging in activities

that upset the order of the classroom. In spite of the fact that Paul is described by these same teachers as nervous and fidgety, in spite of the fact that he bites his nails, and cannot sit still, he is treated at school for his misbehavior. Though he is a boy of average intelligence with lively activity interests, he is deprived, because of his poor citizenship, of the satisfaction of winning his block letter for participation in sports and is further punished by being transferred from the high ninth grade to a non-curricular group.

The teachers in Paul's school agree, at least at a verbal level, with most educators that treatment must be directed at the cause of misbehavior rather than at its symptoms. The fact that their theories all too often fail to affect their actual practices in such situations is understandable in terms of the dynamics of their own adjustment problems. To maintain self-esteem at an acceptably high level, some teachers, like some parents, have to resort to common defense mechanisms. Defiance of her authority is a serious ego-threat to an insecure teacher and she designates behavior which threatens her own prestige by ego-defensive terms such as "impertinence," "disobedience," "impudence," "rudeness," and the like. Her techniques for dealing with such behavior are the punitive measures of the authoritarian designed to put the offender in his place.[8]

In Paul's case, neither the school nor the court planned treatment procedures with a view to any adequate consideration of what, retrospectively, appear to have been the major factors. The complex fabric of emotional relationships in the family situation were certainly focal in Paul's

[8] The methods employed by elementary teachers in dealing with classroom misbehavior were surveyed by Campbell, who found that such authoritarian methods are, even in these days of awareness of individual pupil needs, in common use in the classroom. Nellie M. Campbell, *The elementary school teacher's treatment of classroom problems* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935.

case. The parents are divorced. The mother works as a waitress in a cheap restaurant and spends her evenings entertaining men in the small apartment whence her adolescent son is crowded out to seek entertainment on the streets. He is out late at night and has meals at irregular hours. The situation with his father is not much better. The father is amiable, carefree, and shiftless, drinks to excess and is content to drift. Paul finds his father's most likable quality the fact that "he is a good loser." When Paul can no longer brook the situation at his mother's and seeks a more tolerable life with his father, the mother keeps the boy in a turmoil of emotion by her frequent visits and continuous importunity.

Faced with an unresolvable conflict of loyalties, with ambivalent attitudes toward both parents, his security shattered by rejection of the one and capricious emotional demands of the other parent, Paul has become increasingly sullen, rebellious, and at odds with the world. The introvertive tendencies observed in our first contacts with the boy have become more marked, and bitterness and resentment have replaced his former shy but friendly ways with people. When he first came to the clinic we remarked the beginning of withdrawing responses in his expressed preference for solitude and his own society. When we see him again, after six years, Paul has withdrawn still more from an unfriendly world and now he is a bitter person who wants money and position and knows "you can't get rich within the law," who wants to study law and doesn't want to conform to the educational requirements that will enable him even to finish high school, who wants to be a lawyer and expects to be a tramp, who feels that he would "just as soon drop off here as anywhere." "Life don't mean nothing to me," he says with the intense conviction of twenty-one, "I might as well be dead."

Whatever psychological position one may hold concerning the number and classes of fundamental needs which are vital to the individual, from a clinical standpoint we can differentiate at least two basic needs which were never satisfied in Paul's experience. There was the need for affectional response — in this case for parental affection and concern — and the need to achieve. He could never conform to the traditional demands of the school. He was restless, active, he must be ever on the go. He wanted the prestige of academic achievement, but he wanted, too, to wander to seek adventure, as he put it "to ride the railroad tracks for a few years."

There were few alternatives for treatment in Paul's case within the range of the limited facilities of the court. We may designate them broadly as treatment involving changing the environment and treatment through modifying the environment. In this instance, the court first attempted treatment through modifying the environment, and only later, when the chances of success had dwindled, changing the environment.

It is worth while considering the factors which, at the time of Paul's first contact with the court, might have been evaluated in working out a treatment plan. Obviously, the first decision to be made would be to determine whether or not it would be wise to remove Paul from his own home.

Application of Rogers' criteria for removal of a child from home [9] tend, in so far as we can determine the facts, to indicate that removing Paul from his home at the outset would have had a slightly better chance of success than to attempt treatment through modifying the environment. Let us examine the facts in view of these criteria. The four criteria upon which decision concerning placement may be based are, according to Rogers: (1) behavior, (2) family atmos-

[9] Carl R. Rogers, *Clinical treatment of the problem child*, p. 166.

phere, (3) possibility of change, and (4) placement opportunity.

I. *Behavior:* "Behavior difficulties of more than average seriousness, definitely associated with and probably caused by, parental attitudes, management, or behavior"[10] make placement advisable.

Paul had stolen a valuable bicycle and at that time there was reason to infer a causal relationship between the delinquent act and the neglect and indifference of his mother.

II. The *family atmosphere* criterion is harder to evaluate. Conditions that make continuance in his own home advisable are: (*a*) a normal degree of affection for his mother and possibly also for his father; and (*b*) an indication of rather strong family loyalties. Conditions that make placement advisable are: (*a*) the fact that he feels emotionally insecure at home; (*b*) that he is rejected by both parents; and (*c*) the fact that his parents' behavior and attitudes have caused great emotional conflict in the boy.

On the whole, in this category, there appear to be more factors making placement advisable. But it should be noted that it is extremely difficult to determine the subtle facts called for as a basis for these judgments, for example, the character of the emotional relationship between this boy and his parents. Paul is inhibited when emotionally toned topics are brought up. He is defensive about his parents' behavior and their attitudes toward him. He says, obviously wishfully, that there has been no lack of real affection and love in his home, but at the same time there is every indication that he feels insecure concerning his parents' affection for him. There is evidence, too, during the interview of considerable emotional conflict over his parents' behavior and their attitudes toward him. He "never disagrees with his parents," but he frequently has to leave the house to

[10] *Loc. cit.*

have peace at home! The evidence is conflicting but can probably be summed up as indicating a "normal" degree of affection for his parents with great emotional insecurity and much emotional conflict resulting from actual rejection by both parents. On the whole, in this category there seem to be more reasons for removing Paul from his home than for keeping him in it.

III. *Possibility of change:* Here "the parental attitudes which seem to cause misbehavior" (rejection of the child, neglect, and indifference) "are fixed, deep-seated and of long standing."

However, no "skilled efforts" have been tried to change the attitudes of the parents.

IV. Rogers' last category, *placement opportunity,* seeks to appraise the characteristics of the child which make him either a good or a poor risk for placement and includes the following items: [11]

1. Behavior patterns:

   This, as far as we know, is Paul's first antisocial behavior and thus counts as a *favorable* criterion.

2. Age: { Under nine is favorable, nine to twelve intermediate, thirteen or over unfavorable.

   Paul's age at first contact with the court was 15-5 and thus counts as *unfavorable* for successful placement.

[3. Ancestry: Relative freedom from hereditary mental disease, extreme neurotic behavior, etc., is favorable as against the presence in the ancestry of two or more instances of severe instability.

   Unknown in Paul's case.]

4. Stability: Degree of emotional stability indicated by the presence or absence of either organic or functional instabilities such as epilepsy, brain injury, psychotic or psychopathic tendencies, or neurotic behavior.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

Paul gave evidence at this time of a "moderate degree of instability" which counts as *intermediate.*

5. Attachment to own family: (Already appraised above.)

Lacks emotional security, rejected by parents, dislikes family situation — counts as *favorable* for success in foster-home placement.

6. Intelligence: Average, dull normal or superior intelligence are favorable. Very superior and borderline, intermediate. Defective mentality, unfavorable.

Paul's intelligence is average, thus a *favorable* factor.

7. Skill of the available placing agency: This category seeks to evaluate the resources of the agency with respect to training of workers, case load, conditions of supervision, adequacy of payment for child care, etc.

In our case the probation office should probably be rated as *intermediate* and so counted in assessing the factors making for success in placement.

In calculating, for this item, Paul's chances for success away from home we have three favorable factors, namely behavior, attachment to own family, and intelligence; two intermediate, stability and skill of the agency, one unfavorable, age, and one unknown, ancestry. Here the chances are better than 50 per cent for success away from home.

On the whole, all categories considered, it would seem as though Paul stood more chance of making a satisfactory adjustment had placement been tried at this first contact with the court. Later events, as we saw, abundantly substantiated this conclusion.

The Court and the Maguires

Every court has its Maguires. Our discussion of treatment in relation to factors in the environment would be seriously

lacking without at least one illustration of the tough resistance to the usual treatment facilities of the juvenile court that is offered by a family pattern of delinquency with strong family affiliation.

Our first clinic contact of many with the Maguires was in 1931. This was when Pat was brought in for stealing from parked cars. At that time — he was then eleven — he was already a recidivist with two previous offenses. There were the three boys — Terence, 13; Pat, 11; and Brian, 8 — and a baby sister aged 2. They have always been a very closely knit family group. Never able to manage on the earnings of the father, they have been clamorous for their rights to relief and loudly critical of the character and quality of the relief furnished by the county.

Mrs. Maguire always enjoys her day in court. She is loud in her abuse of everybody that has accused any of her boys of anything. The abuse is equally loud whether the accusations are real or imaginary. She opposes whatever plans are suggested for whichever boy happens to be before the court, the while she alternately cuffs, ignores, and accedes to the demands of the unrestrained two-year-old she has brought with her

The behavior disorders of the Maguires are chronic. Every agency in town knows them. We all get to the point where we are just patient and continue patiently to try something else.

Pat's intelligence is borderline, I.Q. 72. He is, for the most part, a friendly, good-natured chap, but he has a very quick and uncontrolled temper and he is as completely carefree and irresponsible as a kindergartener. His ambition is to be a peddler. His three dearest wishes are: (1) "to have a good time"; (2) (out of deference to the interviewer's supposed bias!) "to go to school"; and (3) "to be a full grown-up man." He thinks "you have the most fun in life when you're

young and," grinning, "get in trouble all the time." He had fun, according to this philosophy. Not counting the unofficial contacts with Pat, there were thirteen court appearances during the six years of his acquaintance with the juvenile court and when we see him after four years of adult court supervision he has added four court convictions. That there are no more is due to the fact that the major part of the time has been spent in reformatory and prison.

SCHEDULE OF COURT CONTACTS
WITH
THE BROTHERS MAGUIRE

	Date	*Age*	*Name*	*Offense*	*Treatment*
1.	1930	11	Pat	Grand theft auto	Probation
2.	1930	11	Pat	Stealing rabbit	Probation — continued
3.	1930	11	Pat	Drunkenness	Admonished
4.	1931	11	Pat	Stealing from cars	Detained in detention home
5.	1931	9	Brian	Stealing from Kress's	Probation
6.	1932	10	Brian	Stealing bicycle	Parochial school
7.	1933	13	Pat	Stealing from cars	Parochial school — later to ranch with family
8.	1933	11	Brian	Stealing from Kress's	Training school — later parochial school
9.	1933	16	Terence	Habitual tardiness and mischief	Probation to teacher
10.	1934	16	Terence	Truancy	Probation — continued

11.	1934	14	Pat	Truancy and running away	Parochial school
12.	1934	17	Terence	Stealing	Probation to Father X
13.	1934	17	Terence	Stealing	Probation to Father X — continued
14.	1934	15	Pat	Running away from parochial school	Ranch placement
15.	1934	15	Pat	Stealing	Probation
16.	1935	16	Pat	Stealing	Reformatory (out 1935)
17.	1936	17	Pat	Stealing chickens	Admonished
18.	1936	17	Pat	Vagrancy	To adult court: county jail
19.	1936	17	Pat	Burglary	Adult court: reformatory II (out 1937)
20.	1936	19	Terence	Burglary	Adult court: probation
21.	1937	20	Terence	Contributing to delinquency of minor	Adult probation — continued
22.	1938	16	Brian	Confessed robbery "Jack rolling"	———
23.	1938	19	Pat	Cashed Terence's relief check	Reformatory III (out 1939)
24.	1939	20	Pat	Robbery	County jail; reformatory IV penitentiary

We made Pat's acquaintance in April, 1931, and, in December of the same year, Brian, then nine years old, was brought in for stealing small articles from the dime store. Brian, with an I.Q. of 81, is brighter than Pat. Perhaps we can do something with him. He is not so carefree as Pat, but his response to attempts to work out an adequate school program is just as discouraging as it was in the case of his brother. He is always in trouble by reason of his constant stealing and his complete lack of interest in school work. Perhaps placement in a boys' boarding school will help before Brian gets as bad a start as Pat had under probation programs. But neither Brian nor his brothers could be kept away from home unless they were locked up where they could not escape.

Terence is the oldest and brightest of the boys, but the family pattern runs true. Though of average intelligence (I.Q. 104), he has never adjusted in school Like Pat, he is a likable, happy-go-lucky fellow, who never conforms to rules and always has an alibi. More than either of the younger boys, Terence is never to blame — Terence earnestly believes it is always someone else's fault. Terence's juvenile court career began later and was less severe than Pat's and his adult record has, so far, been less serious.

Probationary treatment failed with Pat, an earlier application of twenty-four-hour supervision failed with Brian, and a probationary supervision arranged in his own locality failed with Terence. Each form of treatment was, of course, followed by other treatment procedures, in the case of each of the boys, to no avail. In the intervals between periods of enforced detention all three boys are at home. Terence has brought home a wife whom Pat borrows on occasions, Brian is in school waiting for the time to come when he, too, can quit and "just lay around at home" like his brothers. Father still peddles fruit and vegetables and his earnings

serve even less well than formerly to supply the growing needs of his increased family. The relief furnished (in 1939) is still not what the family thinks it should get. Are they not American citizens?

Loren Against Authority

Loren again! This time full of defenses. He is sullen, his aggressions freely voiced against anyone who represents authority. He is not getting a square deal, the world is against him. He is being accused by deliberately unfriendly cops of an offense of which he is not guilty. They won't give him a chance because he has "a record." With much uncharacteristic bluster he denies stealing the chickens — but he doesn't look at you and he quickly returns to his gripe against the unfairness of the cops, who "won't give a guy a chance."

They won't give a guy a chance! Had anybody ever given this gangling, awkward, stormy adolescent boy a chance?

It was not necessary even to close my eyes to see in his place the frightened little boy who had been Loren five years ago when he had first been brought into court. That was when another judge had been presiding, a bored, indifferent, legal-minded person who "couldn't understand why children did such things" and proceeded to demonstrate his lack of understanding on Loren and others who came before him.

On that occasion Loren had been a thin, undernourished, frightened little boy. He had had nothing to say when the judge spoke to him — when he had asked with irritation why Loren's parents were not there in court. He might have informed himself from the report before him that the step-father, after weeks of unemployment, had just got a new job and did not dare fail to show up at work, that there

were three helpless feebleminded children in the home for the mother to look after, and a fourth child expected momentarily. He was irritated because the parents of children who got into trouble were so irresponsible. Here was another case of parental irresponsibility, why weren't they here? Loren had no answer. The judge was annoyed at his silence. "They don't seem to care anything about you, do they? Case continued for one week. Officer, see that the parents are brought in."

Loren had not then been full of defenses against hurts. He had cried as he left the courtroom that other day. Now he was not going to let anything hurt him. Then he had been sensitive, impulsive, cried easily, was easily discouraged, docile, and trustful. But as I look at him now, armored with the defense mechanisms that he has developed with the years, it is as though the vulnerable little boy had on transparent armor. Armor designed to deceive others — and not only to deceive others, but to deceive himself. Loren, tough and sullen, lying about his escapades, complaining about the cops, is the little Loren, sensitive, docile, trusting, thinking sometimes that he is very wicked, sometimes wishing he had never been born — the little Loren dressed up for contact with reality.

How to give this boy a chance! What do we know about him? We know he *is* the only normal member in a family of defective siblings. His mother has been married twice. Loren belongs to the first family. His only living brothers are both in an institution for defectives. In the second family are four children — three of them of low imbecile intelligence. The step-father is of very low mentality, but Loren's mother appears to be a woman of average intelligence. Concerning his own father, who died fourteen years ago, we know nothing.

At home there has been ignorance, extreme poverty, and

hard work beyond his years, but for all that the security of deep affection and intense loyalty. At school Loren has been rated a poor citizen with little interest or effort for academic accomplishments. Frequently a truant, sometimes he has been excused to stay at home and work. That would be when his mother was ill, and the burden of housework, cooking, and caring for the younger children fell on Loren's shoulders.

He is almost sixteen. Whatever the school may have had to offer, Loren could not take. He maintains a cat-and-mouse relationship now with the attendance officer and will drop out as soon as he can.

The court gives Loren what is, ironically, known as "another chance" — a chance to work at a part-time job, a chance to participate in more constructive, if less exciting, activities than chicken-stealing, and a chance to contact at least one adult who has a genuine and friendly interest in him as an individual — these chances, of course, being conditioned by Loren's personal power to take advantage of them.

There is one more picture of Loren, five years after his last juvenile court appearance. He is married and quarrels constantly with his wife. He resents the effort of the office to get in touch with him. This resentment stems from his generalized attitude of resistance toward authority, of which the police are still the most hated symbol. He works at anything he can get — mostly unskilled labor — is irregularly employed, and has little interest in what he does.

Recidivism, type of offense, and court action

A follow-up survey [12] that yielded information on 257 of our original 300 cases whose subsequent record was known to the probation office affords a basis for comparison be-

[12] See Appendix B

tween 123 recidivists and 134 single offenders three years after the original survey. This interim report on those of the delinquent group who could be contacted attempts to evaluate economic factors, family circumstances, age, and intelligence in order to determine whether there are significant differences between children who have committed no further offense necessitating court action within three years after their examination at the clinic and those who were brought before the court again. Type of offense has been considered in relation to recidivism and court action which activated whatever treatment procedures were undertaken.

A little less than half of these young offenders were recidivists (47.9 per cent). Half of the recidivists and 53 per cent of the single offenders came from broken homes, a difference which is not statistically significant. Differences in economic status favor the single offenders, but in this case, too, are not significant (Table 31). The majority of the

TABLE 31 **ECONOMIC STATUS***

	PERCENTAGE OF SINGLE OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF RECIDIVISTS
Comfortable	14.9	7.5
Marginal	66 9	64 2
Dependent	18.5	28 3

*The Glueck classifications of economic status, parental attitudes of discipline and affection, and use of leisure were used for this follow-up survey. The categories are described in Chapter 8, pp 71, 72, and 77.

families in both groups were people who lived on their daily earnings and accumulated nothing, but were on the margin of self-support and dependency. The slight, but statistically insignificant, difference in the same direction between occupational ratings of fathers supports this finding. Since we have found lack of economic security to have a disrupting

effect on the family situation, and it has sometimes been found to be a destructive force in adjustment, it will be given further consideration in relation to rating on adjust-

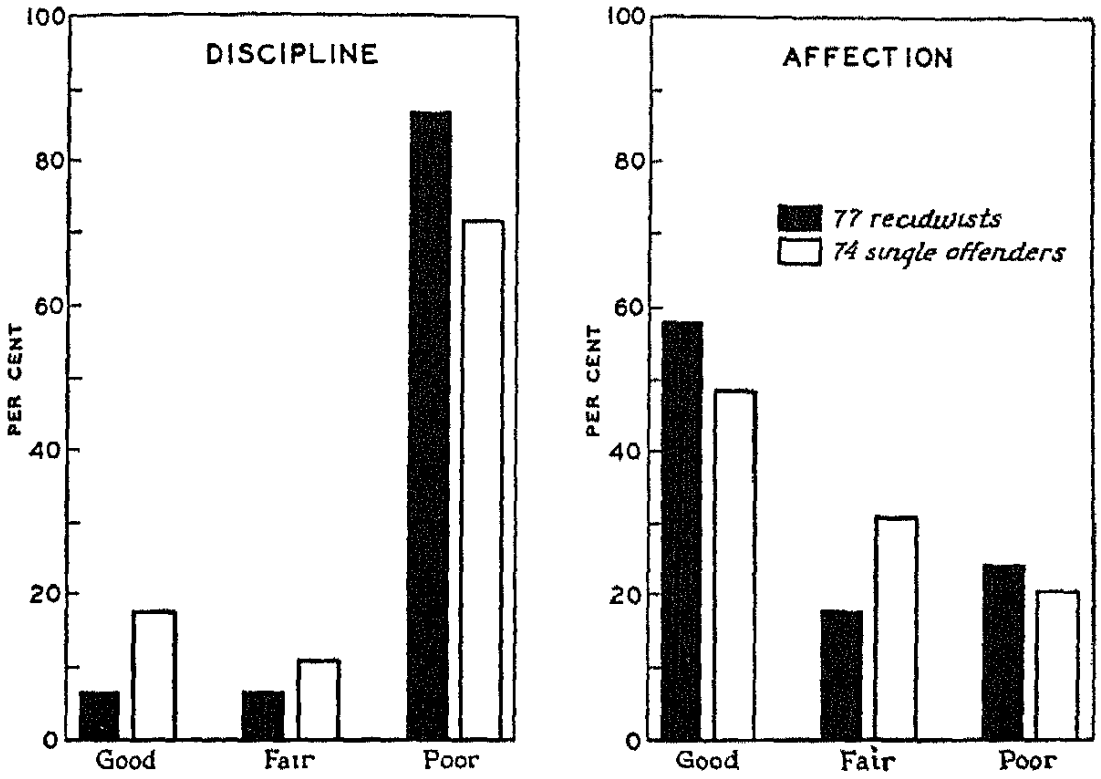


FIGURE 23

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

ment after the five-year period since original clinic examination.

Parent-child relationships of discipline and affection did show differences between recidivists and single offenders, but differences that were unreliable (Fig. 23). With respect to parental discipline, for example, the differences are statistically insignificant because the discipline is all so poor in both groups. A reversal of the expected difference between recidivists and single offenders in the case of the higher percentages of cases with a rating of "good" in the group that recidivated tempts one to speculate as to the

possible reason for this difference — 58.1 per cent as compared with 48.5 per cent in the case of the single offenders. I am reminded of the family resistance to all treatment efforts in the case of families like the Maguires, where solidarity of family ties of affection and loyalty to each other formed a rigid barrier against any modification of attitudes and conduct. Loren, too, had one source of security in his relationship of affectionate understanding with his mother in a world toward which, defensively, he needed to remain hostile.

Our data concerning the relation of age to recidivism are not very conclusive because the number of cases is so few in the younger age groups for each category However, the differences are in the direction of a slightly higher percentage of cases in the younger age groups in the case of the recidivists and a smaller percentage of cases in the higher age groups. When the age groups below fourteen are combined and those above sixteen a more adequate comparison is possible.

TABLE 32 **AGE AT EXAMINATION BY CLINIC**

	SINGLE OFFENDERS		RECIDIVISTS	
Below 14	N 17	% 12.7	N 27	% 21.9
14–16	78	58 2	65	52.9
Above 16	39	29.1	31	25.2
	134	100.0	123	100.0

This relationship of age to recidivism has been observed by a number of investigators. Thom and Johnston [13] point out that it is an inherent quality of youth to reorganize its social attitudes so that it may eventually fit into society

[13] D. A. Thom and F. S Johnston, Time as a factor in the solution of delinquency. *Ment Hyg*, 1941, **25**, pp. 269–287

without conflict. Healy and Bronner [14] found that the age when treatment was begun had a negative bearing on delinquency, that, contrary to their expectations, the youngest age groups did not show the largest proportion of successes and that the length of time during which the delinquent had been an offender before the treatment began offered no barrier to successful treatment. The Gluecks have a theory that delinquent children, if they do become non-delinquent, just sort of outgrow it "after the antisocial impulses have run their course." They improve in conduct after they "have gotten delinquency out of their systems." This process of maturation they further describe as having

> achieved sufficient integration to seek more legitimate goals for their desires or to inhibit or sublimate their antisocial impulses or because they have passed the stage in which they had the energy and daring to commit crimes.[15]

Healy and Bronner thought that the younger children of their group represented a high degree of selection in that even at their early age they were severely delinquent and that level of maturity offered an inadequate explanation of the greater amenability to treatment of their older cases.

[14] *New light on delinquency and its treatment*, pp. 190–191

[15] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Juvenile delinquents grown up.* New York Commonwealth Fund, 1940, pp. 104, 106. In a later publication (*Criminal careers in retrospect.* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943, pp 211–212) the Gluecks point out that "the only factor to which all treatment failures were consistently and uniformly inferior to the successes" was the age at first delinquency. "A greater proportion of those who responded well to each form of peno-correctional treatment were further along in years when they first became delinquent than of those who did not respond satisfactorily to treatment" And their conclusion, "This finding would seem to suggest that inability to adapt to peno-correctional treatment is somehow related to a biologic difference between successes and failures," would seem to advocate a return to the doctrine of the born offender An alternative explanation of their findings might be that delinquent behavior patterns when established in the early years were harder to change than when they became established in the later years. Recent clinical research has emphasized the important role in later development of early childhood experiences.

Kirkpatrick,[16] in a statistical study of juvenile recidivism, reports age to be one of eight factors which he found to be significantly related to recidivism. He reports an increase in the percentage of recidivism for successive ages up to fourteen, followed by a decrease with increasing age after age fourteen.

In my groups there were among the recidivists more foreign-born parents, more unskilled and fewer professional parents, more children whose attitude toward their offense was poor, more with below-average intelligence, more whose vocational expectations were in the lower occupational ratings, more who earned money, and more who had never had an allowance. But none of these differences is statistically significant. There is significance only in the fact that the recidivists are the ones who deviate in all of these respects in the direction of inferior status.

When a child is brought into juvenile court a petition is filed alleging that he has stolen a bicycle, or that he is beyond parental control, is truant, or whatever he may have done that the adults who attempt to control the behavior of children object to his doing. In the interest of determining whether any particular type of offense is apt to be associated with recidivism, we have tabulated all of the known offenses for our three hundred delinquents.[17] There were 518 offenses of which we have record during the period of these observations. Of this total, 309 (59.7 per cent) were offenses against property. The next largest single category is being beyond parental control which includes 18.3 per cent of the offenses. Our purpose of comparing single offenders with

[16] Milton E. Kirkpatrick, Some significant factors in juvenile recidivism. *Amer. J Orthopsychiat*, 1937, 7, 349–358. Other factors which were found by Kirkpatrick to be significantly related to recidivism were school grade, school record, nativity, neighborhood, number of children in the family, number of social agencies who knew the family and type of offense.

[17] See Appendix B, Table 2, for distribution of offenses.

recidivists to determine what percentage of the children who are brought in for each type of offense become repeated offenders is rendered invalid because there are too few cases in some of the categories to make our comparisons meaningful. The category which includes offenses against property (theft) can be broken down into two sub-categories to afford a somewhat more detailed analysis. It is of interest to note that 40 per cent of the children brought in for stealing recidivate, as against 52 per cent of those whose offense is burglary, which involves breaking and entering. Of course, burglary is not necessarily a more serious offense than stealing. Taking two hundred dollars from a cash drawer of a store where a child works after school is stealing. Breaking into the neighborhood store through a locked screen door and taking lollypops is burglary. The burglary category is the only one in which the recidivists outnumber the single offenders. To that extent, the finding tends to substantiate Kirkpatrick's statement that type of offense is significantly related to recidivism.[18]

One of the most frequent ways of trying to evaluate treatment procedures is to count how many subsequent times a child has to be brought in for further court action. We have already seen that many ambiguities are involved in the use of recidivism as a criterion of adjustment or as a gauge of the soundness of specific types of treatment commonly available to juvenile courts in dealing with children's cases. We found no significant difference between our single offenders and recidivists when they were compared on the basis of the type of court action in each case (Table 33). Where some form of probation was tried following the first offense for which the child was brought into court, 49.8 per cent of the children were later again in court; of those for whom some form of institutionalization — chiefly of the pri-

[18] Kirkpatrick, *op. cit*

TABLE 33 TREATMENT OF FIRST OFFENSES IN RELATION TO RECIDIVISM

COURT ACTION IN THE CASE OF SINGLE OFFENDERS			COURT ACTION ON FIRST OFFENSE OF ALL WHO RECIDIVATED		
	N	%		N	%
School probation	37	27.6	School probation	26	21.2
Private institution	24	17.9	Office probation	25	20.3
Dismissal	21	15.7	Private institution	24	19 5
Office probation	20	14.9	Other probation	19	15.5
Other probation	17	12.7	Dismissal	15	12.2
Placement	8	6.0	Placement	7	5.7
Special institution	4	3.0	Transferred	3	2.4
Institution for delinquents	3	2.2	Special institution	2	1 6
			Institution for delinquents	2	1.6
Sum	134	100.0	Sum	123	100 0

vate boarding-school type — was prescribed, 47.5 per cent recidivated.

One writer points out that one of the major handicaps to effective handling of treatment programs for delinquents is that we begin treatment before the child's needs are known.[19] We do, indeed, and with reason. After a three-year treatment-study period of 143 delinquent children and their families — a period that involved frequent "newly directed efforts" — a group of people who have been for twenty-five years experts in the field of child delinquency undertook to predict the results of their intensive study and treatments. Prognosis was poor for one group because of abnormal personality conditions of the children in that group. After two years 19 per cent of this group was non-delinquent. In another group of children, environmental conditions — particularly the human relations which their environ-

[19] K. I. Wollan, Treatment of juvenile delinquents. *Police J.*, London, 1941, 14, 305–315.

ment afforded — weighed heavily against successful adjustment. Thirty-eight per cent of these were non-delinquent two years later. For a third group, the outcome of treatment seemed hopeful. Of this group, 72 per cent were non-delinquent after two years.[20] It is difficult to know what children's needs are, and far more difficult to supply adequate opportunities for the satisfaction of needs we do know about.

Level of adjustment

Ratings on adjustment afford another method of evaluating the progress of these young people at the end of the three-year interval following first clinic contact. Data upon which a rating could be based were available for 239 of our original 300 cases. Ratings were made by two probation officers and the psychologist. The reliability of these ratings was measured by determining the degree of agreement between the raters. Names and identifying place data were omitted in a case summary prepared for each of 100 of the cases for whom ratings had been made. A blind rating was then made by each of the three previous raters and two others, one of them the judge of the juvenile court. Reliabilities are in terms of agreement of each rater with the composite of these ratings.[21] There was approximately 90-per-cent agreement between raters

Adjustment was rated as follows: *very good* if the boy or girl was maintaining himself in the community without assistance or was making a stable adjustment in his own or a foster home; *good* if adjustment was stable in the main — some rearrangement of the conditions of placement may

[20] Healy and Bronner, *New light on delinquency and its treatment*, pp. 172–189.

[21] Agreement between each rater and the composite rating is represented by the following correlations: Rater A, 91; rater B, .91, rater C, .87; rater D, .96; and rater E, .89. See Appendix C, Table 6

have been necessary; *fair* if there was some evidence of improvement in behavior — he may even have been in court again if the offense was not of a serious nature; *poor* if there was no improvement in behavior.

According to these standards of adjustment, 239 cases three years after treatment were rated as shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34

LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT		
Rating	N	%
Very good	24	10.1
Good	87	36.4
Fair	65	27.2
Poor	63	26.3
Total	239	100.0

Rated as fair or better than fair in their behavioral adjustment were approximately three-quarters of the group.

Recidivism is, of course, highly related to level of adjustment because part of our criterion of adjustment is the persistence of behavior which makes further court action necessary. However, the rating on level of adjustment takes into account a great many factors which contribute to adjustment. It will be apparent from Table 35 that if you count

TABLE 35 RECIDIVISM AND LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT

	PERCENTAGE RATED			
Offenses	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
One	79.1	66.7	53.8	25 4
Two	16 7	20 7	23.1	33 3
Three or more	4.2	12.6	23.1	41.3
Sum	100 0	100 0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	24	87	65	63

as a failure everybody who recidivates you count as failing 20.9 per cent of those whose later adjustment is rated as very good, 33.3 per cent of those whose adjustment rating is good, and 46.2 per cent of those rated fair because there is evidence of improvement in their adjustment. The level of adjustment of all single offenders compared with recidivists is shown in Table 36.

TABLE 36 **LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT OF SINGLE OFFENDERS AND RECIDIVISTS**

LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT	SINGLE OFFENDERS		RECIDIVISTS	
Very good or good	N 77	% 60.2	N 34	% 30 6
Fair	35	27.3	30	27.0
Poor	16	12 5	47	42.4
Total	128	100.0	111	100.0

Because the success or failure of a given type of court treatment is related to so many variables, it would be misleading to try to tabulate court action in relation to outcome. The interpretation of any court action, as I have pointed out, would be ambiguous except in the case of single offenders.

While the relationship of the type of offense for which the child is brought into court shows no measurable relationship to adjustment level, it is interesting to note into which offense categories the highest percentages of successes fall. For purposes of this comparison, level of adjustment has been tabulated for three categories, *very good or good, fair,* and *poor.* The 239 children whose level of adjustment was rated had committed a total of 441 offenses. The relationship of type of offense to level of adjustment is indicated in Table 37.

TABLE 37 TYPE OF OFFENSE AND LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT

OFFENSE	PERCENTAGE Very good or good	Fair	Poor	Total	NUMBER OF OFFENSES
Theft	34.1	29 8	36.1	100.0	255
Control	32.6	23.9	43.5	100.0	92
Sex	55.3	23.7	21.0	100.0	38
Forgery	33.4	33.3	33.3	100.0	6
Truancy	42.9	—	57.1	100.0	7
Vagrancy	35 7	14.3	50.0	100.0	14
Assault	33.3	16.7	50.0	100.0	6
Malicious mischief	56.5	26.1	17.4	100.0	23
All offenses	37.0	26.8	36.2	100.0	441
Number of offenses	163	118	160		441
Number of delinquents	111	65	63		239
Offenses per delinquent	1.47	1.82	2.54		1.85

The highest percentage of successful adjustments seems to be achieved in cases where the child's problem involved offenses of a sexual nature or the complex of youthful deviltment designated officially as "malicious mischief." Where problems of parental relationships are concerned, as in parental control, the prognosis seems to be poor. In the case of vagrancy, though there are few instances on which to base a judgment, the prognosis is poor. There are too few cases in the remaining categories to be of any value in indicating adjustment trends for these data.

Of the many factors that were examined in relation to level of adjustment, two only proved to be statistically significant, namely, the economic status of parents (Table 38) and the birthplace of parents.

It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that 11.5 per cent of our cases came from homes rated comfortable, 65.8 per cent from homes of marginal status, and 22.7 per cent

TABLE 38

ECONOMIC STATUS AND LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT

	PERCENTAGE			
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
Comfortable	37.5	11.8	4.7	10.0
Marginal	41.7	71.8	64.1	63.3
Dependent	20.8	16.4	31.2	26.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	24	85	64	60

from homes where outside support was required continuously.

Sixty per cent of the children whose adjustment is fair or better come from homes in which both parents are American-born. In 40 per cent of the cases where the adjustment is fair or better than fair one or both parents are foreign-born.

Factors Differentiating Delinquents and Controls Five Years Later

Our most important findings concerning our two groups of young people are the comparisons and contrasts revealed by their later behavioral adjustments. It is one thing to measure adjustments of delinquents by the standard of some scale for rating excellence on qualities of adjustment; it is quite another to make one's standard of comparison the behavioral adjustments of other young people who differ from the delinquents chiefly with respect to the fact that their early behavior patterns involved no antisocial acts that made them the subject of official action. Selection, on that basis, of young people from the same community who were the same age as the delinquents, we have already seen, entailed

certain other differences of economic status, parental condition, school adjustment, and the like. Many of the contrasts which we found in this follow-up survey after five years we have already pointed out in our earlier discussions of the various aspects of delinquency. We shall bring them together here to complete the picture of later adjustment.

The interview and adjustment ratings

Adjustment ratings were based on the interview. The selection of items to be covered in the interview was guided by the questionnaire developed by Tolman for use in comparing two groups of adult criminals.[22] Certain modifications of the Tolman questionnaire were introduced to make our interview procedures more suitable for the young adults of our groups.

Ratings were then made for both groups on each of thirty items on which the interview yielded information. The criteria for rating each item will be found in Appendix F. The interview ratings assessed attitudes toward the community, job satisfaction, recreational interests, attitudes toward home and family, toward educational opportunities, and toward authority, and revealed certain interest trends.

The adjustment ratings, based on this survey of various interests and attitudes, took especial account of behavioral adjustments in four areas: (1) vocational goals in relationship to intelligence level; (2) use of leisure; (3) relations to parents and brothers and sisters; and (4) attitudes toward home, school, and friends. The total adjustment rating is a composite of these four. The reliability of our ratings was checked as before, by determining the degree of agreement between raters.[23]

[22] Ruth Tolman, Differences between two groups of adult criminals *Genet. Psychol Monogr.*, 1938, 20, pp 353–458.

[23] Reliability coefficients, which are correlations between ratings, showed a high degree of agreement. The average degree of agreement between raters was .89 for the ratings on delinquents and .87 for controls. See Appendix C, Table 6, for reliability coefficients on the separate items.

At the risk of undue repetition, let us recapitulate the bases upon which our follow-up comparisons were made:

I. The groups compared were

a) 100 boys, previously delinquent, who had first been studied by the clinic at the time of their appearance in juvenile court. At the time of the follow-up study the average age of the group was about twenty years.

b) 100 boys, previously non-delinquent, who were part of a control group chosen previously to match the delinquent group with respect to age, sex, and the neighborhood in which they resided. At the time of the follow-up study the average age of this group was about nineteen. However, eighty pairs could be found in the two groups who could be matched for age at the time of the follow-up.

II. The techniques used as a basis for assessing similarities and differences between the two groups were

a) a personal interview with each boy

b) a home visit and interview with parents

c) a retest of intelligence

d) personality tests

e) home and neighborhood ratings

III. The procedures for evaluating adjustment were ratings based on

a) 30 items covered by the interview, case history, and home visit

b) changes in test scores

c) records of court, school, or social agency.

Adjustment [24]

The boys of the control group are, as young adults, better adjusted than the boys who had previously been delinquent. On a five-point rating scale, where 1 is excellent and 5 is

[24] See Appendix C, Table 7

very poor, there are, among the delinquents, comparatively more cases in the lower categories and fewer in the higher categories. The distributions are shown in Figure 24. Eighty-two of the delinquent boys are now rated as making a fair

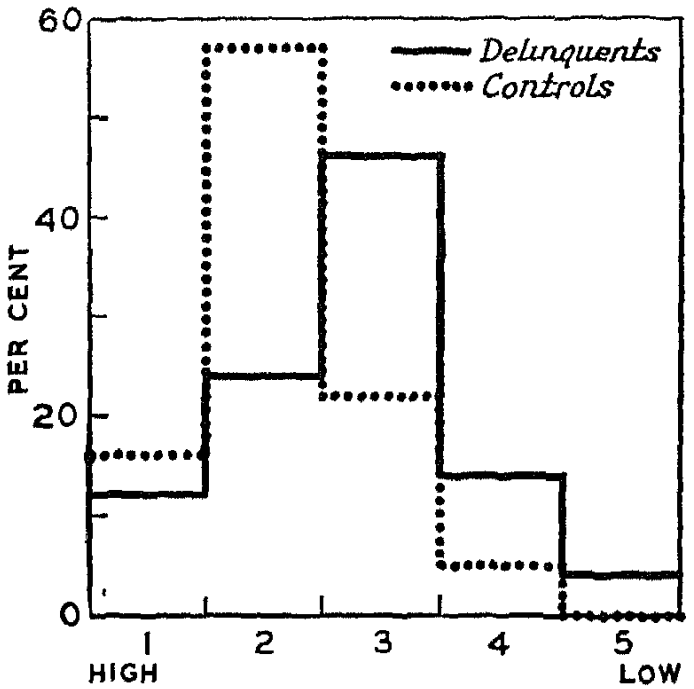


FIGURE 24

RATINGS ON TOTAL ADJUSTMENT

or better than fair adjustment, 95 per cent of the non-delinquents, but the most striking difference between the two groups is the fact that the top ratings, excellent and good, include 73 per cent of the non-delinquents and only 36 per cent of the previously delinquent boys.

More important for our purpose is an analysis of the components of this total adjustment rating. One of the most striking contrasts between the two groups is in the use of leisure. Constructive use of leisure, the possession of definite interests which enrich leisure time, interest in creative activities and good reading still characterize to a significant-

ly greater extent the leisure time activities of the group that has not been delinquent (Fig. 25).

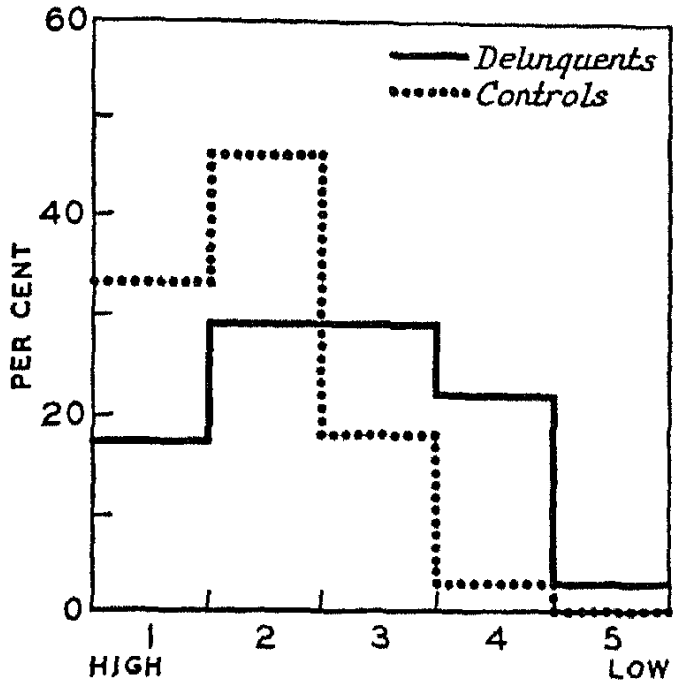


FIGURE 25

RATINGS ON USE OF LEISURE TIME

Another important aspect of adjustment is the extent to which one's goals are functionally related to one's abilities. Allport points out that

> When an adult undertakes to perform a task he generally places his goal at a level not so far above his abilities that he will suffer embarrassment and humiliation if he fails, nor so far below his abilities that he will feel ineffectual and cheap upon accomplishing the task. He undertakes that amount and kind of labor which will keep his self-esteem at a maximum.[25]

This relationship of level of aspiration to reality we have already discussed (Chapter 5, pages 145-150) as an impor-

[25] Gordon W Allport, *Personality, a psychological interpretation.* New York. Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1936, p. 169 Reprinted by permission of the publishers

tant criterion of maturity. Marked discrepancies between vocational goals and intellectual level we have found to be associated with poor adjustments and failure to achieve an adequate degree of maturity. We have already made the acquaintance of Percy (page 125) whose janitor status in

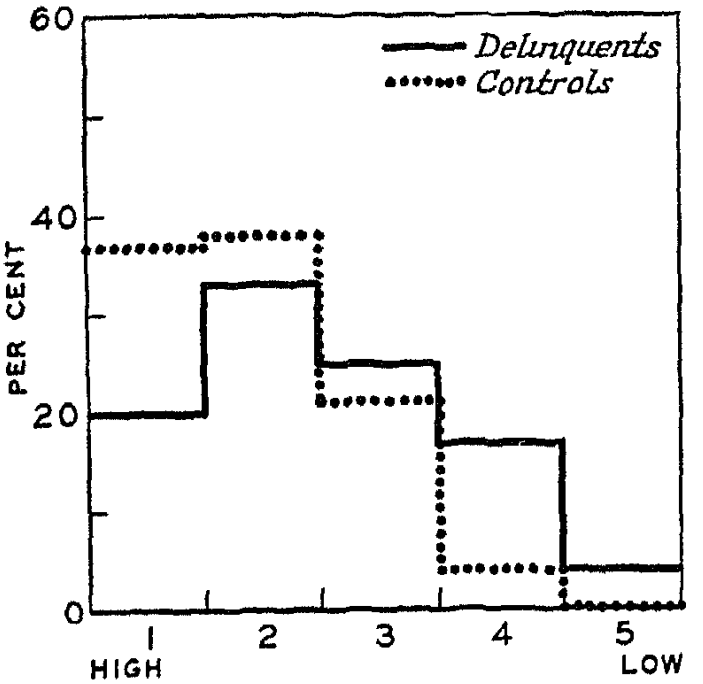


FIGURE 26

RATINGS ON VOCATIONAL GOALS IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE

a higher-occupational-level home, satisfaction with a high-school education, and resistance to forces that might change his status were inconsistent with his intelligence level (I.Q. 120). Good janitors, too, are spoiled in vain efforts to satisfy unrealistic aims or social ambitions in attempting to create doctors from 80 I.Q. human materials!

Our ratings on vocational goals in relation to intelligence reveal significant differences between groups (Fig. 26). We found the vocational goals of the non-delinquents higher than

those of the boys who had been delinquent and better oriented to their abilities and opportunities.

The interview revealed, too, that there were still differences in attitudes between the two groups toward home, toward school – whether they had left or whether they were still in attendance – and toward companions and friends (Fig. 27).

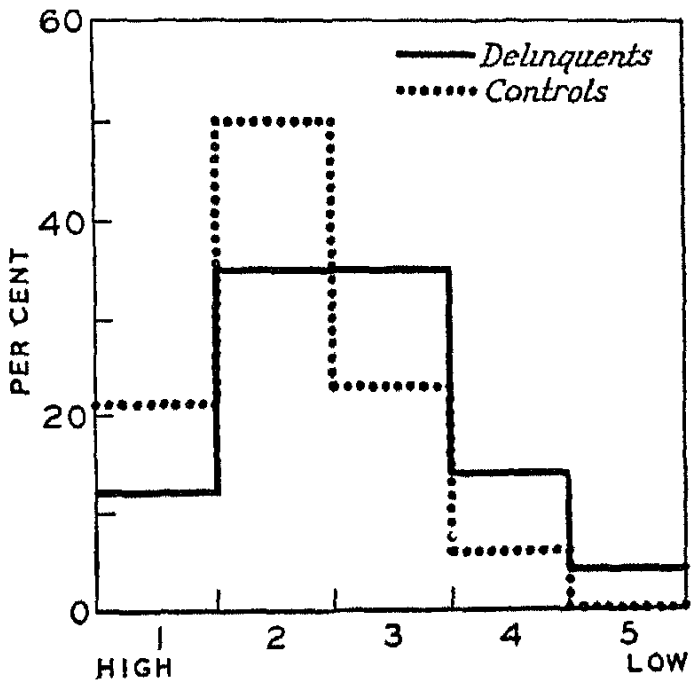


FIGURE 27

RATINGS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD HOME, SCHOOL, AND FRIENDS

Quite unexpectedly the two groups proved to be closer together on ratings on relationship to parents and siblings than on any other of the adjustment ratings (Fig. 28).

Factors in adjustment

At the time of our follow-up study we find more of the de-

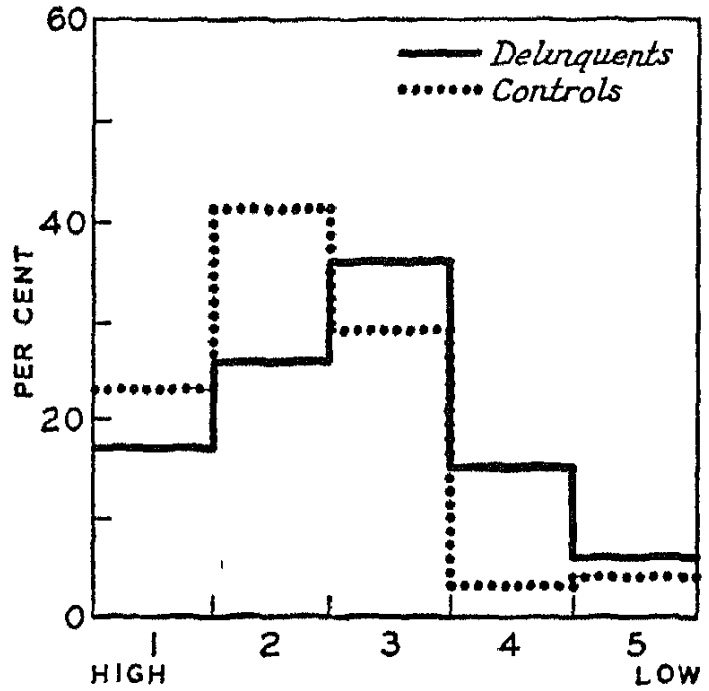


FIGURE 28

RATINGS ON RELATIONSHIPS TO PARENTS AND SIBLINGS

linquents employed, but the non-delinquents have better jobs. The non-delinquents stay in school longer. The occupational status of fathers is not, however, a significant factor in the boys' remaining in school though whether or not there is a father in the home is significant.

As we would expect, more of the non-delinquent boys are living at home. Here our matched pairs are the important groups to compare since age differences are important. For the eighty pairs matched for age we found 85 per cent of the non-delinquents living in the home of parents and 50 per cent of the delinquents (Table 39). With more broken homes in the delinquent group, we are not surprised to find that a little more than a fourth of the delinquents are living with one parent. The home of the non-delinquent is more stable.

TABLE 39 PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	DELINQUENT Per Cent	CONTROL Per Cent
Home of parents	50.0	85 0
With one parent	27.5	7.5
Own home	3.8	2 5
Rooming house	2.5	1.2
With relatives	——	3.8
Home of adoptive parents	2.5	——
Private institution	7.5	——
Pena-correctional institution	5 0	——
Foster home	1.2	——
Total	100.0	100.0

An increase in both groups in the percentage of parents living together — 57 in the delinquent, 83 in the control — is probably the result of selective factors operating in the follow-up groups to cause the more stable families to remain in the community. With age constant, the same difference remains whereas we would expect that as the age of the children increases the percentage of parents living together would decrease. As we have seen (page 13), Shaw and McKay found that the number of broken homes increased with the age of the children.

Differences in occupational classification of fathers, while not statistically significant, are in the expected direction; that is, more fathers of non-delinquent boys have made no change in occupational status, more fathers of delinquents have changed from a higher to a lower occupational classification (Table 40).

A further difference between the two groups with respect to economic status is concerned with parental employment. In about half of the delinquent cases the father is the only

TABLE 40 CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHERS

	DELINQUENT Per Cent	CONTROL Per Cent
Positive change*	7	11
Negative change†	14	6
No change	56	69
Unclassified	9	9
No father in home	14	5
Total	100	100

* Positive change means from lower to higher occupational classification, unemployed to employed status, no father in the home to a father acquired by re-marriage

† Negative change means higher to lower occupational classification, employed to unemployed status, father in the home to no father.

member of the family employed, as against 72 per cent of the non-delinquents. In a fourth of the delinquent homes neither parent is employed, as against 10 per cent of control homes, and the mother is the only one of the parents employed in 12 per cent of delinquent, and in 5 per cent of non-delinquent, homes. But the situation is reversed in the case of the employment of both parents, where 7 per cent of delinquent parents compare with 10 per cent of control parents.

The relationship of the parents to each other, in so far as it can be judged, is still a significant factor in the differences between groups. Differences in the climate of family relationships are indicated, too, by the fact that there are apt to be more delinquent siblings in the homes of our hundred delinquent boys than in the homes of their non-delinquent neighbors.

Significant, too, as a possible source of discontent is the fact that even in the same neighborhoods the quality of the homes of the delinquents more frequently differed from

others in the neighborhood, in the direction of inferiority. These were rated by the interviewer who visited the home at the time of the follow-up survey.

Some of these socio-economic factors [26] are summarized in Table 41. It will be noted that, with the exception of

TABLE 41 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DELINQUENTS AND CONTROLS IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

	CRITICAL RATIOS* 100 Delinq. vs 100 Control	80 Matched Pairs
Home Ratings on Whittier Scale		
Necessities	7 54	8 36
Neatness	6.18	6 10
Size	7.40	7.09
Parental condition	5 82	5 78
Parental supervision	10.49	8.80
Home Index	——	9.01
Neighborhood Ratings on Whittier Scale:		
Neatness and sanitation	1.89	1.85
Recreational facilities	2 25	1 80
Institutions and establishments	2 19	1.90
Social status of residents	3.14	2 38
Average quality of homes	3 15	2.39
Neighborhood Index	——	2.15
Permanence of residence (2)	3.42	3 09
Stability of home (2 1)	4.06	3.59
Financial adequacy of parents (23)	7.70	6.68
Occupational stability of subject (4)	3 00	2.10
Financial adequacy of subject (24)	0.46	1.94
Group activities (5)	4.14	4.84

* In the first column are found the C.R.'s $\left(\frac{\text{Diff.}}{\sigma \text{ diff}}\right)$ for the differences between means. In the second column the mean of the differences between matched pairs has been used in computing the C.R. We have considered that a C.R. is statistically significant if it is 3 00 or greater than 3.00. Positive differences favor the controls.

[26] Chi-square values for differences that have been discussed in this section will be found in Appendix C, Table 5

TABLE 42 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DELINQUENTS AND CONTROLS IN PERSONAL-SOCIAL FACTORS

	CRITICAL RATIOS* 100 Delinq. vs 100 Control	80 Matched Pairs
Score on Bell Adjustment Inventory:		
Home adjustment	2.09	2.47
Health adjustment	1.39	1.63
Emotional adjustment	0.62	−0.50
Social adjustment	0.63	−0 95
Total adjustment	0.43	0 00
Woodworth-Cady Psychoneurotic Inventory	1 50	2 38
I.Q. on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale	3.06	3.19
Ratings on Attitudes and Interests:		
(Based on interview data)		
Freedom from antagonism (16)	−2.86	−2 60
Freedom from antagonism toward father (29)	−2.13	−1.20
Freedom from antagonism toward mother (28)	−1.53	−1.80
Attitude toward school: still in attendance (7)	4.70	3.80
Attitude toward school: after leaving (8)	4.46	3.87
Attitude toward home (20)	4.71	4.46
Attitude toward siblings (19)	1.21	−1.62
Freedom from persecution (17)	−4.00	−3.96
Fondness for parents (27)	2 88	3.31
Interest in politics (10)	4.38	2.85
Liking for expressing ideas, reading, writing (15)	3.34	2 71
Parent-child relationship: attitude toward parental affection (22)	3 75	2.79
Parent-child relationship: attitude toward parental discipline (30)	3.08	2.28
Readiness to assume responsibility (6)	4.11	6.39
Recreational autonomy (14)	5.71	5.33
Recreation: reading interests (13)	1.12	1.25
Absence of reserve with father (26)	−2.52	−2.30
Absence of reserve with mother (25)	−3.15	−2 65
Satisfaction with the community (1)	3.92	4.17
Satisfaction with job (3)	0 12	0.67
Satisfaction with self (18)	4.60	4 29
Social consciousness (12)	1.64	1.58

* As in the preceding table, the C R 's reported in column one are for the differences between means whereas in column two they are based on the mean of the differences. Positive differences favor the controls.

neighborhood ratings (the two groups were originally matched with reference to this factor) and factors relating to the occupational stability and financial adequacy of the boys themselves, socio-economic factors all favor the control group.

Similarly, our ratings on personal-social factors are summarized in Table 42 The effect of differences in age is brought out in these tables. For example, ratings on the trait, readiness to assume responsibility, are higher for controls than for delinquents and the difference between the average rating for delinquents and the average for controls is statistically significant – the C.R. is 4.11 – and, if we eliminate age differences in readiness to assume responsibility (because older boys are more ready to assume responsibility than are younger boys), the difference between the two groups is even more striking, the C.R. is now 6.39. In the case of interest in politics, the age differences are the only ones that account for the differences between the two groups. The older boys are the ones that are more interested in politics, but the difference between the two groups is not significant, according to our criterion of significance, when the age difference is eliminated.

To complete our account of the contrasts between our two groups the significance of the differences between our adjustment ratings is presented in Table 43.

In an attempt to evaluate the contribution of these various factors to adjustment, we worked out correlations between ratings on the various factors and the ratings on adjustment.[27] However, our interpretations of these correlations must be made with the realization that, because the total adjustment rating with which the trait ratings are correlated is itself based on the traits revealed in the interview, the correlations may be spuriously high. This will be clear

[27] A table of these correlations will be found in Appendix C, Table 8.

TABLE 43 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DELINQUENTS AND CONTROLS IN ADJUSTMENT RATINGS

	CRITICAL RATIOS	
	100 Delinq vs 100 Control	80 Matched Pairs
Vocational goals in relation to intelligence	3.57	3 97
Use of leisure	5 44	4 76
Relations to parents and siblings	2.77	3.06
Attitudes toward home, school, and friends	3.45	3 27
Total Adjustment	4 50	4 55

if we remember that such trait ratings as, for example, the boy's attitude toward his parents' affection for him and his own attitude toward his parents, are both based on facts that serve also as a basis for rating one of the aspects of adjustment, namely, the evaluation of parent-child relationships.

Traits which, for the boys who have previously been delinquent, appear to have the highest degree of relationship to adjustment are parent-child relationships of affection and freedom from antagonism, absence of reserve with mother, and the quality of parental supervision; recreational interests with respect to quality of reading; financial adequacy of the boy himself; and attitudes toward school and educational opportunities. Freedom from antagonism to authority and some of the ratings on the physical environment of the home appear to constitute factors substantially related to adjustment.

Freedom from antagonism to the father is less highly related to adjustment than freedom from antagonism to the mother. So, too, absence of reserve with father appears to be less highly related to adjustment than absence of reserve with mother.

In the case of the non-delinquents, the correlations are

much lower, on the average. Here, too, however, as in the case of the previously delinquent, fondness for parents is the trait that appears to be the most highly related to ratings on adjustment. Absence of reserve with father and with mother, financial adequacy of parents, parental supervision and condition, the boy's satisfaction with his job, his recreational autonomy, political conservatism, and score on the Woodworth-Cady Psychoneurotic Inventory all appear to show some slight relationship to adjustment. The other ratings are all positive, but appear to have little better than a chance relationship to adjustment rating.

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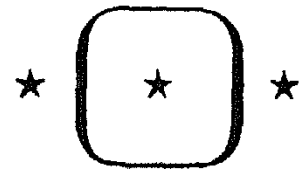
SUMMARY

In an attempt to come to a little better understanding of why delinquent children behave the way they do, we undertook, in this book, to inquire how delinquents differ from their non-delinquent neighbors and in what ways they resemble them; we undertook to study individual children to see how their ways of dealing with life-situations reveal their needs and, in the frame of reference of the social pressures that are brought to bear upon them, offer clues to the reasons for their failures to satisfy those needs in socially approved ways; we undertook to determine how delinquent behavior functions in the service of needs common to all children, to understand what makeshift or substitute satisfactions children resort to when socially approved satisfactions are blocked; and we undertook to see what light these relationships between human needs and human behavior throw on what can be done about delinquency by court and clinic and other agencies in the community.

We have noted the inadequacies of some of our clinical tools for measuring various aspects of behavior, the possibilities and limitations of others that have been little tried. We have found that, while there are more unfavorable social factors in the home environments of delinquents than in the homes of non-delinquents, it is the social frame of reference to which the individual is responsive that is important

for his adjustment. We have found many personal ways in which the delinquent differs from the non-delinquent and that there are even more ways in which he is like the non-delinquent. We found that children's ways of reacting to frustrations and conflict are much the same whether they are delinquent or non-delinquent, but that the delinquent is more likely to be a specialist in his selection of ways of resolving his conflicts. We found that delinquent behavior sometimes offers a way of resolving the tensions created by conflict of motives. We found delinquent behavior functioning in a makeshift fashion in the service of self-esteem. We found delinquency to be purposive and that it is necessary to recognize this goal-directed character of delinquent behavior in order to deal understandingly with delinquent children. We have found many traits to be factors in adjustment, many that serve to differentiate delinquent from non-delinquent children.

If we have devoted more space to the seriously maladjusted children than to those who have made more successful adjustments, it is because of the attention-compelling character of those adjustment problems that prove to be especially baffling. Those who present the most serious problems of adjustment are the ones to whom we devote the most time and attention. That is one of the reasons why any book about delinquents is bound to be disheartening. We seem always to be capitalizng our failures rather than our successes by focusing attention on our most serious problems either in fact or by implication. We can say, at least, in defense of children who have been delinquent that, either because of our treatment or in spite of it, 82 per cent in our group have been found to be fair or better than fair in their adjustment five years later.



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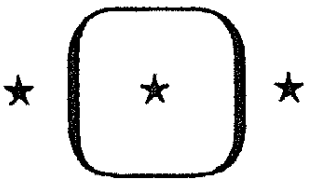
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Data secured at first clinic contact for 300 consecutive juvenile court cases and a non-delinquent control group matching the delinquent group in age, sex, and home neighborhood.

TABLE 1. Age Distribution.

TABLE 2. Significance of Differences between Delinquent and Control Groups Based on Chi-Square Comparisons of Personal Data Obtained at First Clinic Contact.

TABLE 3. Significance of Differences between Delinquents and Controls in Attitudes and Interests at First Clinic Contact.

TABLE 4. Recreations.

TABLE 5. School Adjustments.

TABLE 6. Significance of I.Q. Differences between Delinquents and Controls on 1916 Scale.

TABLE 7. Classification of Fears.

TABLE 8. Reading Preferences.

TABLE 9. Interest in Movies.

TABLE 10. Desert Island Companions.

TABLE 11. Bell Adjustment Inventory Item Analysis.

TABLE 1

Distribution by Age of 300 Delinquents Referred to X County Juvenile Court during a Two-Year Period

AGE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
8	2	—	2
9	1	—	1
10	6	1	7
11	4	2	6
12	12	2	14
13	17	6	23
14	26	11	37
15	54	6	60
16	49	14	63
17	40	7	47
18	20	5	25
19	8	3	11
20	2	1	3
21	1	—	1
TOTAL	242	58	300
Mean Age	15.31	15.31	15.31
S D.	2 16	2 14	2.15
σ_M	0.14	0.28	0.12.

Mean age of delinquents 183.9 mos.
S D. 25.02 mos.
Mean age of controls 184.9 mos
S D 24 99 mos.

TABLE 2

Significance of Differences between Delinquent and Control Groups Based on Chi-Square Comparisons of Personal Data Obtained at First Clinic Contact

		P	PAGE
Structure of home		< 01	66
Birthplace of parents American vs foreign		< 01	68
Bell Adjustment Inventory	Home	< 01	71
	Health	.41	
	Social	.54	
	Emotional	53	
Parent-child relationship.	Discipline	<.01	71
	Affection	<.01	71
Number of siblings		<.01	75
Position in the family		<.01	75
Delinquent siblings		<.01	
Economic status of parents		<.01	77
Occupation of parent		<.01	79
Conduct in school (rating)		<.01	99
Attitude in school (rating)		<.01	99
J B F. Information test		.14	
Vocational ambition "Wants to be —"		07	147
Vocational expectation "Expects to be —"		<.01	147

TABLE 3

Significance of Differences between Delinquents and Controls in Attitudes and Interests at First Clinic Contact

SUMMARY	C R.	GREATER
Level of aspiration: professional	1 5	control
Level of expectation: professional	2 6	control
Level of aspiration unskilled labor	4.9	delinquent
Father's occupation. unskilled labor	3 2	delinquent
Do at home for good time: active games	5 7	control
Do at home for good time listen to radio	3 3	control
Do at home for good time: go out	2 8	delinquent
Don't have a good time at home	4 8	delinquent
Like best for a good time: dancing and parties	2.0	delinquent
Attend movies more than once a week	3 5	delinquent
Favorite movie: adventure	3 6	delinquent
Favorite movie: emotional fiction	3 3	control
Desert island companions: own age preferred	3.5	control
Desert island companions family and own age	1.9	control
Fears most: physical injury	2 7	control
Fears most: animals	3 3	control
Fears most: nothing	4 4	delinquent
Ever punished yes	2 2	delinquent
Punishment that does most good "licking"	2.9	delinquent
Punishment that does most good: "talking to"	3 6	control
Has earned money	2 2	delinquent
Has an allowance	4 5	control
Attitude toward personal appearance:		
Good-looking yes	2 1	delinquent
Good-looking no	1.1	delinquent
Good-looking uncertain	2.6	control
Wants to be liked	3.7	control
Thinks others play mean tricks on him	1.3	delinquent
Dislikes being told how to do things	1.1	delinquent
Says both parents like him	2.2	control
Says he has friends	2.0	control
Says he is not anxious to be grown up	2.2	control
Says sibs are treated better than he is	2.2	delinquent

I. Like best for a good time

Response Category	Number of Responses		Per Cent *	
	D	C	D	C
Sports (competitive)	90	127	38.0	43.1
Hunting	46	58	19.4	19 7
Dancing and parties	41	33	17 3	11 2
Shows	32	36	13.5	12.2
Go out with crowd	26	21	11.0	7.1
Creative activities	12	18	5.1	6.1
Games and play	5	9	2.1	3.1
Reading	4	9	1.7	3.1
Radio (listening)	3	6	1 3	2 0
Domestic arts	3	2	1 3	0.7
Knit and sew	2	0	0.8	—
Travel	1	10	0.4	3.4
Responses per person			1.12	1 12

* No significant differences between preferences of delinquents and controls.

Type of Preference	Number of Responses		C.R.
	D	C	
Activity *	137	195	2.0
Social	72	64	2 3
Solitary	39	51	0 2
Mechanical	17	20	0.2

*Activity { Competitive sports; Hunting and fishing; Travel

Social { Dancing; Games; Friends in; Go out with crowd

Solitary (non-social) { Shows; Reading; Radio

Mechanical { Creative activity; Knitting, sewing; Domestic arts

[1] Discussed in Chapter 8.

TABLE 4 (continued)

II Do at home for a good time

Response Category	Number of Responses		Per Cent		C.R
	D	C	D	C	
Reading	54	73	22.9	24 4	—
Active sports	49	129	20 7	43 1	5 7
Games and play	41	68	17.4	22 7	—
Creative activities	40	65	16 9	21 7	—
Radio (listening)	32	73	13.6	24 4	3 3
"Don't have good time"	32	6	13 6	2 0	4 8
"Go out"	31	17	13 1	5.7	2.8
Social (friends in)	13	15	5 5	5 0	—
Knit and sew	7	8	3 0	2 7	—
Domestic arts	2	11	0 8	3 7	—
Hunting	0	1	—	0 3	—
Responses per person			1 27	1 56	

Type of Preference	Number of Responses		C R.
	D	C	
Solitary *	86	146	2 9
Negative	63	23	5.8
Social	54	83	1 3
Activity	49	130	5.8
Mechanical	49	84	2.0

*Solitary { Reading, Radio
Negative { Don't have good time, Go out
Social { Friends in, Games and play
Activity { Active sports, Hunting
Mechanical { Domestic arts, Sewing, Creative activities

TABLE 5 *School Adjustments* [1]

a) Grade Placement

	Delinquent	Control
Grade 1	2	1
2	3	0
3	8	1
4	10	8
5	12	11
6	25	19
7	35	24
8	37	43
9	55	69
10	35	44
11	19	36
12	1	23
P.G. & Spec.	1	21
Sum	243	300
Not in school	57	0
TOTAL	300	300
Mean Grade	8 3	9.3
C.R.	5.14	
Mean M A	12 8	13.2
C R.	1.67	

b) Conduct

	Delinquent		Control	
	N	%	N	%
Satisfactory	124	57.1	191	67 5
Fair	20	9.2	85	30 0
Unsatisfactory	73	33 7	7	2 5
Sum	217	100.0	283	100 0

P = < 01

c) Attitude

	Delinquent		Control	
	N	%	N	%
Good	64	28.8	205	72.7
Indifferent	90	40 6	67	23.8
Poor	68	30.6	10	3.5
Sum	222	100 0	282	100 0

d) Subject Preferences, Critical Ratios of Differences Delinquents vs. Controls

Language studies preferred by controls	Total	1 2
	Boys	1.6
	Older	2.2
Science preferred by controls	Total	1.1
	Boys	0.9
	Older	0.5
Technical studies preferred by delinquents	Total	2.2
	Boys	1.9
	Older	2.1
Academic studies preferred by Below-average controls (<90 I.Q.)		1.0
Non-academic subjects preferred by Below-average delinquents		1.1

[1] Discussed in Chapter 4.

TABLE 6

Significance of I.Q. Differences between Delinquents and Controls on 1916 Scale

	DELINQUENTS	CONTROLS	C.R.
Mean I.Q.	86 7	89.3	1.9
Per cent below 70	18.3	10.4	2.8
Per cent borderline	22 0	16.3	1.8
Per cent dull normal	17.3	24.3	2.1
Per cent average	32 0	40.7	2.2
Per cent above average	10.4	8.3	0.9

TABLE 7

Classification of Fears

	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS		C.R.
	N	%	N	%	
Most afraid of					
Nothing	67	31.3	43	14.4	4 4
Animals	46	21.5	103	34.4	3 3
Physical danger	27	12 6	64	21.4	2.7
Failure	20	9.3	20	6 7	—
Don't know	15	7 0	25	8.4	—
Particular people or objects	11	5.1	18	6.0	—
Bad people	10	4.7	7	2.3	—
Startling events	9	4 2	8	2.7	—
Death	7	3 3	3	1.0	—
Dark and strangeness	3	1.4	12	4.0	—
Injuries to others	1	0.5	1	0.3	—
Dreams	1	0.5	0	0.0	—
Sickness of relatives	0	0.0	1	0.3	—
Sum of responses	217	100.0	305	100.0	—
Number of subjects	214		299		

TABLE 8 *Reading Preferences*

	I. Kind of Book				II. Favorite Book			
	D		C		D		C	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Adventure	132	66 7	182	68.2	89	65 0	89	50.0
Home	13	6.6	10	3.7	11	8.0	21	11.8
Science	10	5.1	14	5.2	6	4 4	3	1.7
Nature	9	4 5	23	8.6	8	5 8	28	15 7
Juvenile magazines	8	4.0	3	1.1	6	4 4	2	1.1
Fairy tales	7	3.5	8	3.0	5	3.6	2	1.1
History	7	3 5	25	9.4	4	2 9	14	7.9
Romantic love	7	3.5	17	6.4	6	4.4	7	3.9
Informational	5	2.5	9	3.4	4	2.9	12	6.7
Comic	3	1.5	3	1.1	0	0.0	3	1.7
Poetry	0	0.0	3	1.1	0	0.0	2	1.1
Not reported	(42)		(33)					
Number of subjects	198		267		137		178	

Adventure preference expressed by	Adventure book named as favorite by:
68.6% of delinquent boys	70.2% of delinquent boys
73 0% of control boys	59 4% of control boys
59.0% of delinquent girls	48 5% of delinquent girls
47.2% of control girls	17 5% of control girls

III. Fiction vs Non-Fiction *
Critical Ratios of Differences
Delinquents vs Controls

KIND OF BOOK		FAVORITE BOOK	
Fiction preferred by delinquents:		Fiction named by delinquents:	
Total	0 6	Total	3.4
Boys	0 8	Boys	2 9
Older	0.6		
Retarded	0.8		
Non-fiction preferred by controls:		Non-fiction named by controls:	
Total	3.2	Total	3 6
Boys	3.3	Boys	2.9
Older	2.9		
Retarded	1.1		

* The size of the samples used in the various comparisons as to reading preferences is as follows:

	Kind of book		Favorite book	
	D	C	D	C
Total	198	267	137	178
Boys	159	215	104	138
Girls	39	53	33	40
Age 15–21	140	185	93	116
8–14	58	82	44	62
IQ 110+	27	24	20	14
90–109	71	111	48	82
89 & below	100	132	69	82

C.R 's computed for populations of 100 or over.

TABLE 9 *Interest in Movies*

1 Frequency of attendance

	Number		Per Cent		C R.
	D	C	D	C	
Never	6	3	2 6	1 0	
Rarely	30	39	13 1	13 1	
Bi-weekly	26	53	11 3	17.7	
Weekly	92	146	40.0	48 8	
More than weekly	76	58	33.0	19.4	
Total	230	299			
Less than once a week			27.0	31 8	1.2
Weekly			40 0	48 8	2.0
More than once a week			33 0	19 4	3.5

2 Favorite movie

	Number of Responses		Per Cent		C R	Boys * Per Cent		Girls ** Per Cent	
	D	C	D	C		D	C	D	C
Adventure	133	138	63.3	47 4	3 6	69 0	54 2	36.1	18 2
Emotional fiction	39	91	18 6	31 3	3 3	13.8	23 7	41.6	63 6
Nature	12	19	5 7	6.5		6 9	7.2	—	3.6
All kinds	12	8	5 7	2 8		5 7	3.4	5 6	—
Comics	10	12	4 7	4.1		4 6	4 7	5.6	1.8
Historical	6	20	2 9	6 9		1.7	5 9	8 3	10 9
Miscellaneous	8	14	3.9	4.8		4.1	3 8	2.8	9.1
Informational					2 4				

* 174 delinquent boys gave 184 responses, 236 control boys gave 243 responses
** 36 delinquent girls gave 36 responses, 55 control girls gave 59 responses.

TABLE 10 *Desert Island Companions*

	DELINQUENTS		CONTROL		C.R.
	N	%	N	%	
All own family	95	43.4	120	40.8	—
All own-age companions	25	11.4	68	23.1	3.5
All impersonal	25	11.4	21	7.2	—
Two family, one companion	20	9.1	42	14.3	1.9
Two family, one spouse	6	2.7	10	3.5	—
Two family, one impersonal	6	2.7	5	1.7	—
Two companions, one family	12	5.5	6	2.0	—
Two companions, one spouse	3	1.4	3	1.0	—
Two companions, one impersonal	1	0.5	4	1.4	—
Two impersonal, one family	2	0.9	0	0.0	—
Two impersonal, one companion	5	2.3	5	1.7	—
Two impersonal, one spouse	2	0.9	1	0.3	—
Nobody	6	2.7	2	0.7	—
One family and others	10	4.6	6	2.0	—
Spouse only	1	0.5	0	0.0	—
Impersonal companion, dog	0	0.0	1	0.3	—
Sum	219	100.0	294	100.0	
SUMMARY					
Majority own family	127	57.9	177	60.2	0.5
Majority own-age companions	41	18.8	81	27.6	2.4
Majority impersonal	34	15.5	27	9.2	2.1
All other combinations	17	7.8	9	3.0	2.3

TABLE 11 *Bell Adjustment Inventory Item Analysis*

Item Number	Question	Per Cent Difference between C and D
	HOME ADJUSTMENT	
41	Have your parents frequently objected to the kind of companions you go around with?	+42**
7	Did you ever have a strong desire to run away from home?	+22**
37	Has either of your parents frequently found fault with your conduct?	+19*
9	Do you sometimes feel that your parents are disappointed in you?	+16
16	Does your mother tend to dominate your home?	+14
78	Do you love your mother more than your father?	+13
112	Are your parents permanently separated?	+13*
34	Has lack of money tended to make your home unhappy for you?	+11
	HEALTH ADJUSTMENT	
87	Do you frequently experience nausea or vomiting or diarrhea?	+14
111	Do you frequently come to your meals without being really hungry?	+12
129	Do you have teeth which you know need dental attention?	+12
6	Are your eyes very sensitive to light?	−11
25	Do you sometimes have difficulty in getting to sleep even when there are no noises to disturb you?	−12
119	Do you find it necessary to watch your health carefully?	−15*
	SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT	
5	At a reception or tea do you seek to meet the most important person present?	+15
3	Do you enjoy social gatherings just to be with people?	+11
44	Have you had experience in making plans for and directing actions of others?	+11
114	Do you keep in the background on social occasions?	+11
70	Do you find it very difficult to speak in public?	−12
110	Do you feel embarrassed if you have to ask to leave a group?	−13

** C R greater than 3 0
* C R greater than 2.5 but less than 3 0
+ indicates that the question was answered in the direction of maladjustment (according to test standards) by the delinquents;
− that the controls deviated in the direction of maladjustment as gauged by the norms on the test. With the exception of items 5, 3, and 44 under Social Adjustment, the expected adjusted response to the items quoted is "no."

TABLE 11 (continued)

36	Are you troubled with shyness?	−15*
47	Do you have difficulty in starting a conversation with a person to whom you have just been introduced?	−18*
	EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT	
77	Do you often feel self-conscious because of your personal appearance?	+21**
57	Do you get discouraged easily?	+11
4	Does it frighten you when you have to see a doctor about some illness?	−11
28	Does the thought of an earthquake or fire frighten you?	−12
132	Do ideas often run through your head so that you cannot sleep?	−13
1	Do you daydream frequently?	−18*
81	Do you blush easily?	−25**

APPENDIX B

Recidivism, Type of Offense, Court Action, and Level of Adjustment

Data secured three years after the original clinic contact on 123 recidivists and 134 single offenders.

TABLE 1. Comparisons between Recidivists and Single Offenders.

TABLE 2. Percentage Distribution of First and Subsequent Offenses.

TABLE 3. Chi-Square Relationship of Factor Studied to Rating on Level of Adjustment.

TABLE 1

Comparisons between Recidivists and Single Offenders

	Single Offenders		Recidivists		C.R.	P
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent		
Broken Homes	71	53.0	62	50 8	—	—
Economic Status:						.07
Comfortable	19	14 6	9	7.5	1 8	
Marginal	87	66 9	77	64.2	—	
Dependent	24	18 5	34	28.3	1 8	
Father's Occupation·						.48
Professional	12	10.3	7	6.8		
Skilled	52	44.4	42	40 8		
Unskilled	53	45 3	54	52.4		
Parental Discipline:						06
Good	13	17 6	5	6.5	2.1	
Fair	8	10.8	5	6 5	—	
Poor	53	71 6	67	87.0	2.4	
Parental Affection						.22
Good	33	48 5	36	58.1		
Fair	21	30 9	11	17.7		
Poor	14	20 6	15	24 2		
Vocational Expectation						
Professional	33	35 1	21	25 2	1 4	
Skilled	44	46 8	41	49.4	—	
Unskilled	17	18 1	21	25.3	1.2	
						.90
I.Q :						
Below 70	27	20.1	24	19.5		
70–79	25	18 7	27	21.9		
80–89	22	16.4	21	17.1		
90–109	47	35.1	37	30.1		
110+	13	9 7	14	11.4		
Sex: Boys	95	47 7	104	52.3	2 7	
Girls	39	67 2	19	32 8	—	
Allowance: Yes	14	15.1	11	13.1	—	
No	79	84.9	73	86.9	—	
Earns Money: Yes	86	90 5	78	95.1	1.2	
No	9	9.5	4	4.9	—	
Parents' Birthplace:						
American	71	55 9	60	52.2	—	
Foreign	44	34 6	46	40.0	0.9	
Mixed	12	9 5	9	7.8	—	

TABLE 1 (continued)

	Single Offenders		Recidivists		C R.	P
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent		
Age at Examination by Clinic: 8–11	6	4 5	8	6.5		
12	5	3.7	8	6.5		
13	6	4.5	11	8.9		
14	22	16.4	12	9.8		
15	25	18.7	24	19.5		
16	31	23.1	29	23.6		
17	18	13 4	25	20 3		
18–21	21	15.7	6	4 9		
Court Action	123	100.0	134	100 0		81
Recidivism and Level of Adjustment	123	100 0	134	100 0		< 01

TABLE 2

*Percentage Distribution of First and Subsequent Offenses**

Offense	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	All Offenses
Theft	57.6	59 5	62.7	65.3	60.0	74.0	59 7
Beyond control	17.0	18.9	23.5	21.8	20 0	17.4	18.3
Sex	9.7	6 3	7.9	4.3	—	—	7.9
Malicious mischief	4.7	8.1	2.0	4.3	—	—	4.8
Vagrancy	5.3	3.6	3 9	4 3	10.0	—	4.6
Truancy	1.7	2.7	—	—	—	4.3	1.7
Assault	2 3	—	—	—	—	4 3	1.6
Forgery	1.7	0.9	—	—	10.0	—	1.4
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100 0
Number of offenses	300	111	51	23	10	23	518
Number of offenders	300						300
Proportion of offenders known to have committed subsequent offenses		37 0	17.0	7.7	3.3	7.7	

* The subsequent record is known in 257 of the 300 cases.

TABLE 3 • *Chi-Square Relationship of Factor Studied to Rating on Level of Adjustment*

	Adjustment Rating				N	P
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor		
Structure of home Broken	12 3	33 7	27.0	27 0	122	50
Unbroken	6.9	39 7	27.6	25 8	116	
Economic status					233	< 01
Occupation of father:						
Professional and semi-professional	27.3	9 1	5 5	6 0		
Skilled	45.4	42 9	43.6	36 0		
Unskilled	27.3	48 0	50 9	58.0		
%	100 0	100 0	100.0	100.0		
N	22	77	55	50	204	.05
Conduct at school.						
Satisfactory	68 2	68.2	46.0	41.9		
Fair	9.1	6.1	12.0	13.9		
Unsatisfactory	22.7	25.7	42 0	44 2		
%	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
N	22	66	50	43	181	.09
Attitude at school: Good	33.3	32 8	23 5	20.0		
Fair	38.1	43.3	45.1	35.6		
Poor	28.6	23.9	31.4	44 4		
%	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0		
N	21	67	51	45	184	.36

TABLE 3 (continued)

	Adjustment Rating				N	P
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor		
Parental discipline. Good	31.2	12 2	7 9	7 5		
Fair	—	8.2	15.8	7.5		
Poor	68.8	79.6	76 3	85.0		
%	100.0	100.0	100 0	100.0		
N	16	49	38	40	143	.12
Woodworth-Cady Psychoneurotic Inventory score					168	.76
Movie attendance-						
Less than once a week	15.8	30.5	34 0	26.5		
Weekly	47.4	40.3	40.0	34 7		
More than once a week	36.8	29.2	26 0	38 8		
%	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0		
N	19	72	50	49	190	.70
I Q - Less than 70	8.3	20.7	16.9	30.2		
70–79	4.2	19.5	20.0	22.2		
80–89	16.7	18 4	18.5	12 7		
90–109	45.8	31 0	36 9	25.4		
110 and above	25 0	10.4	7 7	9.5		
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
N	24	87	65	63	239	.17

TABLE 3 (continued)

	Adjustment Rating				N	P
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor		
Less than 70	4 0	36.0	22.0	38.0	50	% 100.0
70–79	2.2	37.8	28 9	31.1	45	100.0
80–89	10 0	40.0	30 0	20.0	40	100.0
90–109	14.1	34.6	30.8	20.5	78	100 0
110 and above	23.1	34.6	19.2	23.1	26	100 0
Vocational expectation·						
Professional and semi-professional	47.1	31.3	23.9	28.6		
Skilled	52.9	48.4	47.8	47.6		
Unskilled	—	20 3	28.3	23.8		
%	100 0	100.0	100.0	100 0		
N	17	64	46	42	169	30
Fears					197	.83
Birthplace of parents·						
American			60 0	37.0		
Foreign or mixed			40.0	63.0		
%			100.0	100.0		
N			170	54	224	< 01

TABLE 3 (concluded)

	Adjustment Rating				N	%	P
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor			
American	11.5	37.7	34.4	16.4	122	100.0	>.02
Foreign	6.0	34 9	25.3	33.8	83	100.0	<.05
Mixed	21.1	36.8	10.5	31.6	19	100 0	.03
Rating on attitude toward offense:							
Good	47.4	26.1	34 0	22.2			
Fair	10.5	31.9	9.4	11.1			
Poor	42.1	42.0	56.6	66 7			
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
N	19	69	53	54	141		05

APPENDIX C

The Follow-Up Study

Data concerning the later development of 100 delinquents and 100 non-delinquents who were studied five years after the original clinic contact.

TABLE 1. Age Distribution.

TABLE 2. Occupational Classifications and Parental Employment at the End of the Five-Year Period.

TABLE 3. I.Q. Comparisons of 100 Delinquents and 100 Controls on the 1916 and 1937 (Revised) Scales.

TABLE 4. Intelligence, School Grades, and Vocational Choices of the In-School and Out-of-School Groups.

TABLE 5. Significance of Differences between Delinquents and Controls Based on Chi-Square Comparisons of Personal Data Obtained at End of Five-Year Period.

TABLE 6. Reliability of Interview Ratings.

TABLE 7. Distribution of Ratings on Adjustments of Delinquents and Controls at the End of the Five-Year Period.

TABLE 8. Relationship of Various Factors to Total Adjustment Rating.

TABLE 1

Distribution by Age of 100 Delinquents and 100 Controls at Follow-Up

			DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
Age	Delinquents	Controls	In School	Out	In School	Out
12	1	1	1	0	1	0
13	2	4	2	0	4	0
14	0	3	0	0	3	0
15	5	5	5	0	5	0
16	4	9	2	2	9	0
17	9	5	7	2	5	0
18	9	9	6	3	9	0
19	10	22	3	7	16	6
20	18	16	2	16	10	6
21	15	19	1	14	6	13
22	16	5	1	15	1	4
23	6	2	0	6	0	2
24	3	0	0	3	0	0
25	2	0	0	2	0	0
Total	100	100	30	70	69	31
Mean	19.69	18.65	17.06	20 82	17 74	20.68
S D.	2.64	2 48	2 27	1.89	2.38	1 12
σ_M	0.26	0.25	0 41	0 226	0 287	0.197
C R	2 89					

Out-of-school cases C R. for D vs C = 0.46

In-school cases C R. for D vs. C = 1.38

TABLE 2 • *Occupational Classifications and Parental Employment at the End of the Five-Year Period*

a) Occupation of Father in the Home
[Own, step, or adoptive]

Occupational Classification	DELINQUENTS				CONTROLS			
	In School	Out of School	Total	80 Matched Pairs	In School	Out of School	Total	80 Matched Pairs
I. Professional	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
II. Semi-professional	2	1	3	3	6	1	7	7
III. Skilled	0	11	11	9	18	9	27	24
IV. Agricultural	0	2	2	2	3	5	8	8
V. Semi-skilled	5	6	11	8	14	4	18	14
VI Slightly skilled	0	4	4	2	3	2	6	4
VII. Unskilled	9	20	29	22	11	5	16	10
Unemployed	2	4	6	6	1	1	2	2
Retired	1	5	6	4	5	1	6	4
No father in home	10	15	25	22	7	3	10	7
Unknown	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0
Total employed	17	44	61	47	56	26	82	67
TOTAL	30	70	100	80	69	31	100	80

TABLE 2 (continued)

	b) Previous * Occupation of Father in Home		c) Usual Occupation of Own Father	
	D	C	D	C
I	1	2	2	3
II.	3	6	4	9
III.	13	25	17	31
IV.	2	9	3	8
V.	11	18	11	19
VI.	6	8	7	8
VII.	38	17	52	22
Unemployed	5	5		
Retired	4	2		
No father in home	15	7		
Unknown	2	1	4	
Total employed	74	85		
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

d) Parental Employment

			Matched Pairs	
	D	C	D	C
Father only	54	72	41	58
Mother only	12	5	10	3
Both	7	10	5	9
Neither	25	10	23	8
Unclassified	2	3	1	2
TOTAL	100	100	80	80

* At time of first clinic contact.

TABLE 3

I.Q. Comparisons of 100 Delinquents and 100 Controls on the 1916 and 1937 (Revised) Scales

I.Q.	1916 SCALE		1937 SCALE	
	D	C	D	C
40–49	1	0	2	0
50–59	3	0	1	0
60–69	13	8	6	2
70–79	21	12	10	8
80–89	21	22	16	10
90–99	20	29	20	15
100–109	14	16	13	16
110–119	4	9	13	19
120–129	2	4	9	16
130–139	0	0	9	12
140–149	1	0	1	2
N	100	100	100	100
Mean	85 9	92 1	98.4	107.3
σ	17.15	14 98	21.81	19.34
σ_M	1.72	1.50	2 18	1.93
C R	2.72		3.06	

The mean I.Q. of the original 300 delinquents on the 1916 scale was 86.7. The critical ratio of the difference between this mean and 85.9, that of the delinquents who were re-tested with the revised scales five years later, is 0.409. The hundred delinquents of the follow-up group do not constitute a biased sample of the whole group of 300 delinquents, but do deviate to an extent not statistically significant in the direction of inferiority.

In the case of the controls, the deviation, while still not statistically significant, is in the opposite direction. The mean I.Q. of the original control group from which the follow-up sample was drawn, was 89.33 on the 1916 scale. The mean I.Q. of the hundred who were re-tested on the revised scales in the follow-up study was 92.1. The critical ratio of this difference is 1.615.

The hundred controls scored 15.2 I.Q. points higher in mean

score on the revised scales than on the 1916 scale on which they were originally examined, whereas the delinquents scored only 12.5 I.Q. points higher. Elimination of age differences, by comparing differences in gains and losses for the 80 matched pairs, still leaves a reliably greater gain in retest I.Q. for the controls. The C.R. of the difference is 3.192.

TABLE 4 · *Intelligence, School Grades, and Vocational Choices of the In-School and Out-of-School Groups*

a) Intelligence

I.Q	DELINQUENTS					CONTROLS				
	In School	Out of School	Total	Matched Pairs In	Out	In School	Out of School	Total	Matched Pairs In	Out
40–49	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
50–59	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
60–69	2	2	4	2	2	1	1	2	0	1
70–79	1	10	11	1	9	5	3	8	4	3
80–89	8	9	17	7	6	7	3	10	2	3
90–99	4	16	20	3	13	10	5	15	8	4
100–109	5	8	13	4	4	12	4	16	11	4
110–119	1	12	13	1	9	10	9	19	8	8
120–129	4	5	9	4	4	13	3	16	9	3
130–139	4	5	9	4	4	9	3	12	8	2
140–149	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	2	2	0
Sum	30	70	100	27	53	69	31	100	52	28
Mean	98 96	97 12		98 85	96 9	104 1	104 5		106 5	103.7

Critical Ratios of I Q Differences

	C R.
Out-of-school cases — D vs C	1.78
Out-of-school cases — D vs. C: 80 pairs matched for age	1.48
Delinquents in school vs. Delinquents out of school	0.36
In-school cases — D vs. C	1.14
In-school cases — D vs. C: 80 pairs matched for age	1.49

b) School Grade

				Matched Pairs		
	D	C	C R.	D	C	C.R.
Mean Grade reached Out-of-school group	9.6	113	4 6	10 05	11.96	57
Mean Grade: In-school group	9.7	11.0	2.5	9.9	11.4	2 9

TABLE 4 (continued)

(c) Vocational Choices

Wants to be	DELINQUENTS		CONTROLS	
	In School	Out of School	In School	Out of School
Professional	5	9	20	3
Semi-professional	5	14 } 53	16	8 } 69
Skilled	4	16	13	9
Semi-skilled	3	13	8	5
Slightly skilled	3	1 } 22	0	0 } 13
Unskilled	0	2	0	0
Expects to be-				
Professional	7	3	15	3
Semi-professional	3	10 } 42	13	1 } 53
Skilled	2	17	12	9
Semi-skilled	2	6	11	6
Slightly skilled	4	3 } 27	0	0 } 18
Unskilled	2	10	1	0

TABLE 5

Significance of Differences between Delinquents and Controls Based on Chi-Square Comparisons of Personal Data Obtained at End of Five-Year Period

	P		Page
	100 D vs 100 C	80 matched pairs	
Present occupation of father in the home.			
occupational rating Minnesota Scale. . . .	.02	.50	83
employed vs. unemployed.	.20	.07	
employed vs. no father in the home. . .	<.02	<.01	
Previous occupation of father — occupational rating .	<.01		84
Change in level of father's occupation. .	.10		84, 312
Usual occupation of own father .	<.01		84
Parental employment	<.01	<.01	84, 312
Present occupation of fathers whose sons are in school at follow-up.			
occupational rating Minnesota Scale	.02		102
employed vs no father in the home .	<.01		
Present occupation of fathers whose sons are out of school at follow-up:			
occupational rating Minnesota Scale . . .	.04		102
employed vs. no father in home. . .	.10		
Mother's present occupation .	1.00		
Quality of home (same, better, or worse than others in the neighborhood) . . .	<.01		313
Birthplace of parents .	.368	.223	
Parents' relationship to each other . .	.01	<.01	312
Parents' marital condition (own parents) .	<01	<.01	
Number of siblings.	<.01	.05	
Position in the family.	<.01	<.01	
Delinquent siblings.	<.01	<.01	312
Vocational ambition "Wants to be". . . .	.109	.109	149
Vocational expectation "Expects to be".	027	.027	149

TABLE 6

Reliability of Interview Ratings Agreement between Raters' Tetrachoric Correlations*

ITEM	TRAIT	DELINQUENTS	CONTROLS
1	Satisfaction with community...	.92	.88
2	Permanence of residence....	—	—
3	Satisfaction with job...	>.95	.92
4	Occupational stability...	.78	.86
5	Group activities...	> 95	.93
6	Readiness to assume responsibility	.80	>.95
7	Attitude toward school attending	.89	.90
8	Attitude toward school after leaving	.94	>.95
9	Satisfaction with educational opportunity	.86	.85
10	Interest in politics...	>.95	.93
11	Political conservatism..	93	.76
12	Social consciousness	> 95	.86
13	Recreation reading interests	85	.86
14	Recreational autonomy	.84	.81
15	Liking for ideas	.82	>.95
16	Attitude toward authority.	.75	.67
17	Attitude toward persecution	.80	.72
18	Satisfaction with self.	.79	.62
19	Attitude toward siblings	.88	.80
20	Attitude toward home.	.92	>.95
21	Stability of home	>.95	.92
22	Affection from parents	.87	.68
23	Financial adequacy of parents	>.95	.85
24	Financial adequacy of subject	>.95	.51
25	Reserve with mother...	.85	.90
26	Reserve with father...	.87	.86
27	Fondness for parents	.79	.68
28	Antagonism toward mother	.85	.72
29	Antagonism toward father	>.95	.82
30	Attitude toward parental discipline	>.95	.88
	Average...	.89	.87

* The raters were Sherriffs and Merrill.

TABLE 7

Distribution of Ratings on Adjustments of Delinquents and Controls at the End of the Five-Year Period

	RATING										Mean		C R.
	Excellent		Good		Fair		Poor		Very Poor				
	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	
Relationship to parents and siblings	17	23	26	41	36	29	15	4	6	3	2.83	2 45	2 77
Vocational goals in relation to intelligence	20	37	33	38	25	21	17	4	4	0	2.69	2.20	3 57
Use of leisure	17	33	29	45	29	21	22	1	3	0	2.82	2 13	5.44
Attitudes toward home, school, and friends	12	21	35	50	35	24	14	5	4	0	2 81	2.38	3 45
Total adjustment	12	16	24	54	46	25	14	5	4	0	2 87	2.34	4.50

TABLE 8 *Relationship of Various Factors to Total Adjustment Rating Tetrachoric Correlations*

	D	C
Ratings on Attitudes and Interests		
(Based on interview data)		
Freedom from antagonism toward authority (16)	.54	10
Freedom from antagonism toward father (29)	.40	28
Freedom from antagonism toward mother (28)	59	.37
Attitude toward school still in attendance (17)	.23	.39
Attitude toward school. after leaving (8)	.55	11
Attitude toward home (20)	.49	38
Attitude toward siblings (19)	.24	.29
Freedom from feeling of persecution (17)	.24	.31
Fondness for parents (27)	75	.52
Interest in politics (10)	.39	.30
Liking for expressing ideas (15)	.35	25
Parent-child relationship·		
attitude toward parental affection (22)	.70	.41
attitude toward parental discipline (30)	.42	.23
Political conservatism (11)	41	.19
Readiness to assume responsibility (6)	.30	35
Recreational autonomy (14)	.42	46
Recreation: reading interests (13)	.60	.22
Freedom from reserve with father (26)	.46	.48
Freedom from reserve with mother (25)	.51	.42
Satisfaction with community (1)	.36	.20
Satisfaction with educational opportunities (9)	.54	.07
Satisfaction with job (3)	.37	49
Satisfaction with self (18)	.09	.30
Social consciousness (12)	.38	19
Permanence of residence (2)	.20	.04
Occupational stability of subject (4)	.39	.20
Group activities (5)	.15	.24
Stability of home (21)	.24	.38
Financial adequacy of parents (23)	.21	25
Financial adequacy of subject (24)	.57	.28
Bell Inventory: home adjustment score	.11	.30
Home rating on Whittier Scale:		
Necessities	.28	.17
Neatness	.54	.18
Size	.52	25
Parental condition	.38	.41
Parental supervision	.56	.42

APPENDIX D

Social and Psychological Characteristics of 500 Unselected Juvenile Court Cases

300 constitute the original sample.
200 similarly unselected added for validation and further study of mental traits.

TABLE 1. Comparisons between 300 Delinquents of Original Sample and 200 Additional Juvenile Court Cases.
TABLE 2. Distribution of I.Q.'s of 500 Unselected Juvenile Court Cases and 2904 Revision Standardization Group.
TABLE 3. I.Q. and Type of Offense.
TABLE 4. Classification and Analysis of Wishes.

TABLE 1

Comparisons between 300 Delinquents of Original Sample (D_1) and 200 Additional Juvenile Court Cases (D_2)

a) Significance of differences				
	MEAN			
	D_1	D_2	P	C.R.
Age	15.31	15.66		1 8
I Q. 1916 scale vs 1937 scale	86.7	93 6		4 0
Woodworth-Cady Psychoneurotic Inventory			.03	
Bell Adjustment Inventory Home			.06	
Grade placement	8 3	8 9		
Economic status of parents			.14	
Birthplace of parents			.02	
Marital status of parents			.83	
Occupation of parent			.08	
Score on J.B F. Information test	14.07	13.94		0.3
b) Percentage comparisons				
Sex male	80.7	81.5		
Delinquent sibs	29.7	30.0		
Broken homes	50 7	53.9		
Court action on offense:				
Probation	47.2	46 6		
Institution	27.2	23.3		
Dismissal	14.4	11.5		
Foster home	8 3	10.7		
Other	2.9	7.9		
Type of offense: stealing	59.7	53.8		
Reading preferences.				
Adventure preferred	66.7	61.2		
Non-fiction preferred	15 7	29.2		2.9
Favorite book adventure	65.1	56.4		
Fears nothing	38.3	46.4		1.6
No allowance	83.2	89.6		
Earns money	92.2	93.3		
Recreations:				
Do at home for good time —			.15	
Social	22.9	23.7		
Activity	20.7	13.9		
Solitary	36.5	50.5		
Mechanical	20.7	22 6		
Negative	26.7	26.9		

TABLE 1 (continued)

	Mean			
	D_1	D_2	P	CR
Recreations (continued)				
Like best for good time —				
Social.	30 4	31.7		
Activity	57 8	53 6		
Solitary .	16 5	21 9		
Constructive	7.2	7 0		
School adjustment				
Conduct satisfactory .	57.1	52.0		
Attitude good	28 8	30 0		
Economic status of home: marginal	65 8	65.5		
Birthplace of parents: both American	54.3	56.2		
both foreign	37.2	28.2		

TABLE 2

Distribution of I.Q.'s of 500 Unselected Juvenile Court Cases and 2904 Revision Cases on Revised Scales

	DELINQUENTS		REVISION CASES	
I.Q.	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
35–44	1	0 2	6	0 2
45–54	9	1 8	4	0.1
55–64	33	6 6	32	1.1
65–74	44	8 8	96	3.3
75–84	80	16 0	271	9 0
85–94	115	23.0	568	19.6
95–104	98	19.6	696	24 0
105–114	62	12 4	639	22 0
115–124	33	6.6	365	12 6
125–134	18	3.6	154	5.3
135–144	7	1 4	57	2 0
145–154	0	0 0	13	0 4
155–164	0	0 0	2	0 07
165–174	0	0 0	1	0 03
TOTAL	500	100 0		100 0
Mean	92.5		101 8	
σ	19.0		16.4	
σ_M^2	722		.093	
C R.	10.301			

TABLE 3 *I.Q. and Type of Offense*

Offense	Mean I.Q. D_1	Mean I.Q. D_2	N_1	N_2
Forgery	111.0	91.7	5	3
Malicious mischief	92.9	103.3	14	18
Beyond control	87.5	96.7	51	41
Stealing	87.2	92.4	173	112
Sex	83.3	81.9	29	13
Truancy	81.0	91.7	5	3
Assault	79.3	85.0	7	4
Vagrancy	75.0	98.3	16	6
TOTAL			300	200

The table is read: the mean I.Q. of 5 delinquents (in group D_1) whose offense was forgery is 111.0. In group D_2 the mean I.Q. of the 3 delinquents whose offense was forgery is 91.7. Group D_1 was examined with the 1916 scale; I.Q.'s in group D_2 are based on the revised Stanford-Binet.

The following classification shows the number of cases in each offense category with I.Q.'s above or below the average of the respective groups.

	Below mean of group		Above mean of group		Average*	Total
Stealing	115	40.3%	107	37.5%	63	285
Beyond control	32	34.8%	38	41.3%	22	92
Sex	23	54.7%	14	33.3%	5	42
Malicious mischief	7	21.9%	19	59.5%	6	32
Vagrancy	13	59.1%	6	27.3%	3	22
Assault	7		3		1	11
Forgery	1		7		0	8
Truancy	4		2		2	8
	202		196		102	500

* Average includes cases within the 90–110 I.Q. range

TABLE 4 *Classification and Analysis of Wishes*

a) Classification of Wishes According to Jersild's Categories

Type of Wish	Delinquent N	Delinquent %	Control N	Control %	C.R.
1 Specific material objects and possessions	199	15 6	153	17.0	−<1
2. Money	125	9 8	97	10.8	−<1
3. Good living quarters	91	7.1	47	5.2	1.9
4. Activities, sports, and diversions	31	2.4	19	2.1	<1
5. Opportunities Educational, travel, accomplishments	69	5.4	79	8.8	−3.1
6. To be independent, have a vocation	109	8 5	100	11.1	−2 0
7 To be bright, smart	5	0 4	9	1.0	−1.5
8 Moral self-improvement	34	2 7	9	1.0	2.8
9 Improved personal appearance	2	0.2	4	0.4	−1.0
10. Prestige, adventure	7	0.5	9	1 0	−1 2
11 Supernatural power	7	0 5	2	0 2	1 5
12. To be out of present trouble	71	5 6	0	0	9.3
13 To be married and have home; have a lover	35	2 7	19	2.1	<1
14 Parents never die, retain parents	39	3 1	7	0.8	3.8
15. Companionship, friends, and social contacts	27	2.1	23	2 6	−<1
16. Relief from irritation and discomfort	18	1 4	2	0 2	3 0
17. Specific benefits for the self	20	1 6	7	0.8	1.6
18. General inclusive benefits for the self	169	13.2	130	14.4	−<1
19 General inclusive immunities for the self	48	3.8	23	2 6	1.5
20. Specific benefits for parents and relatives	34	2.7	46	5.1	−2.7
21. General benefits for relatives	53	4.2	23	2.6	2.0
22. General benefits for others	6	0.5	18	2.0	−3.0
23. No response, "don't know"	76	6.0	74	8.2	−2.0
Wishes	1275	100.0	900	100 0	
Number of subjects	425		300		

TABLE 4 (continued)

b) Analysis of Wishes of Delinquents According to Age and Intelligence

Category	AGE				INTELLIGENCE							
	Number		Per Cent		Number				Per Cent			
	<15	15+	<15	15+	<70	70–89	90–110	110+	<70	70–89	90–110	110+
I. Mat'l resources	129	286	37.6	30.7	65	169	142	39	32.3	40 5	29 6	22.0
II. Self-interest	113	361	32.9	38.7	77	133	181	83	38.3	31.9	37.7	46.9
III. Self-improvement	60	157	17.4	16 8	34	70	92	21	16.9	16 8	19.1	11.9
IV. Benefits for others	28	65	8.2	7 0	9	26	38	20	4.5	6.2	7 9	11 3
V. No wish	13	63	3.9	6.8	16	19	27	14	8 0	4 6	5.7	7.9
Total wishes	343	932	100.0	100.0	201	417	480	177	100.0	100 0	100.0	100 0

APPENDIX E

Protocols of Projective Tests

1. Carmen's Rorschach record.
2. Thematic Apperception stories F-13, F-14, F-15, F-16, F-20.

Carmen's Rorschach Record

Card	Time and Pos.	Resp.	Performance	Inquiry	Loc.	Det.	Con.	P — O
I	5 ∧	1	Cliff or precipice with two people on it.	Shape looks like a cliff. Both wondering how are going to get across, 'cause that's a big place.	d	FK M	N H	
	20 ∧	2	Cat.	Whole. Upper white is brain, & upper projections are horns. Is a devilish cat.	W S	F m	Ad	O
	45 ∨	3	Skeleton of a prairie cow.	Whole. Upper holes are eye holes. Lower holes are unnecessary, but when begin to rot, appear. Lower part are the teeth. Not all there, 'cause some have decayed away. Looks like cow, shape of head, etc.	W S	F	AAt	O
	60″							
II	4 ∧	4	Insides of a person.	Have never seen insides of a person very well, but would probably be like that — all red and black, and middle is stomach, maybe not shaped that way. (Why black, and red?) Just the way I picture it.	W	CF-	At	
	15 ∨	5	Lamp — and a flame.	Saw shape of lamp 1st and then flame.	S D	F CF	Obj	
	35″							

Carmen's Rorschach Record (Continued)

Card	Time and Pos.	Resp.	Performance	Inquiry	Loc.	Det.	Con.	P — O
III	5 ∧	6	Skeleton — body & arms. Red blotches are the blood. Middle red is the heart.	Whole. (Arms are usual) Was murdered, chopped up, deformed. Part thrown away. And here are the blood spots. The heart didn't decay, is a queer kind.	W	F CF FC—	At	
	30 ∨	7	Bogey man.	Whole. Head; arms raised ready to strike. Is stout. Can't see bottom part of it.	W	M	(H)	
	35 ∨	8	Profiles, man with mustache.	Shape of a mustache.	D	F	Hd	
	45 ∨	9	Branches, dried, no leaves	(Usual arms.) Notches on it and shaped like branch.	D	F	N	
	60″	Add ∧		2 negro porters bending & pulling something. Are negroes because black.	W	M FC'	H	P
IV	5 ∧	10	Bear rug, eyes, queer kind of bear.	Either upper or lower could be the head Looks like a bear rug, even looks like the fur. Neither head is good — upper is too flat, and lower is too long. All rest is body stretched out.	W	Fc	Aobi	
	10 ∧	11	Pair of boots.	(Usual, black and grey half way up.)	D	F	Obi	

Carmen's Rorschach Record (Continued)

Card	Time and Pos.	Resp.	Performance	Inquiry	Loc	Det	Con	P — O
	18 ∧ 45″	12	Ears of a dog	(Usual arm extensions) Cocker spaniel's 'cause long, hair hangs down. Shape and looks hairy too.	d	F Fc	Ad	
V	3 ∧	13	Bat.	Whole. Upper is head and ears. Lower is tail, don't know if have that kind. Wings here.	W	F	A	P
	10 ∧ 27″	14	Snail Head here, and horns stick up here.	Just his head, no shell.	d	F	Ad	
VI	1 ∧	15	Fish.	Cod fish like get in a box, spread open like that, and shadows here. Not a real cod fish, is canned.	W	Fc	A	
	9 ∧	16	Special kind of butterfly	'Cause I like butterflies, and reminds me of way they are made.	D	F	A	
	33 ∧ 35″	17	Bedpost.	(Usual) Whole middle black. All way down. Carved, — that's reason it looks like bedpost. Looks like black walnut 'cause so dark.	D	Fc FC	Obj	

Carmen's Rorschach Record (Continued)

Card	Time and Pos.	Resp.	Performance	Inquiry	Loc	Det.	Con	P — O
VII	3 ∧	18	Two ladies gossiping together. Funny hair-do's. Both pointing towards places.	Whole. Shaped kind of funny, but whole body.	W	M	H	
	20 ∨ 29″	19	Couple dancers, old fashioned kind.	Whole. Big hats, body and one leg they are standing on.	W	M	H	
VIII	3		Looks pretty.					
	8 ∨	20	Sweet peas.	Lower pink and orange. Shading of them. Wouldn't be sweet peas if black and white.	D	CF	N	
	22> 25<	21	Hyenas with that shape. This one too.	Slouching, sneaking like a hyena.	D	FM	A	P
	43 ∨	22	Back bones.	(*Usual.*)	D	F	At	
	50 ∧ 61″	23	Face of a man, long beard, long hat on, like in funny books.	Just blue and grey upper. Like kind of person in Flash Gordon. Just top of body.	D S	F	Hd	
IX	4 ∧	24	Sunset. Sun coming up over here; forest, road	Just upper. 'Cause looks like sun coming up, even the coloring.	D	CF FK	N	

Carmen's Rorschach Record (Continued)

Card	Time and Pos.	Resp.	Performances	Inquiry	Loc.	Det.	Con.	P — O
			here, coming right down *thru there.*					
	30 V	25	Big fat lady, 2 arms and legs; pink hat on.	Big pink hat, bluish coat, and beige dress on. Hands on hips. (White?) Maybe *forgot to take apron off.*	W	M FC	H	
	50 ^ 60″		Forest here. (Referring to response 24)					
X	2 ^	26	Bunch of bugs and insects.	General impression from the different shapes.	W	F	A	
	20 V	27	Big angel floating down from heaven on a parachute.	(The green worms.)	D	Fm	(H)	
	30 V	28	Crab.	Blue crabs. (Usual)	D	F FC	A	
	33 V	29	Two people holding hands over cliff or bucket or object.	(Whole middle blue)	D	M	H	
	56 V 62″	30	Two devils climbing up a tree.	(All of lower grey.)	D	M	(H)	

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

F-13

Group at home gazing at a "bay window." Boy trying to study Edgar Allan Poe but watching a ball game through the window. Little girl longing for skates and feeling that her family can afford to buy them because Mary Low (next door) has skates. Older sister wants to go to dances, but her mother refuses to let her go. She knows that her friends are doing gay things right now. She can't study because she is thinking of them. In fact the whole set up is that they all want to be out of the house.

F-14

Joe and Irene have been married six months. They have been very happy. Joe has surprised the boys downtown by staying home at night and enjoying it. Joe is a good boy — a pretty swell guy, but he hates monotony. He loves Irene and yet when he meets Mabel he can't resist taking her out. He begins telephoning home that he is detained at the office. At first this is accepted by Irene as OK. But when he decides to take a trip to Long Beach, Irene's mother (who tries hard not to be a regular mother-in-law) tells Irene that the firm would have no reason for sending Joe out of town. Irene decides to leave and go to her mother. She brings her clothes to her mother's house but cannot resist returning to her house. And there is Joe. Joe has great difficulty in making her see that he is sincere, but he succeeds. The mother-in-law will soon ring the bell and bring her daughter her clothes. She knew it would be OK.

F-15

This is a girl in the slums of New York. She is a blonde Italian. She is different from her brothers and sisters — they are dark. Anna is like her grandmother. The family have always felt that grandmother was everything that was fine. Anna is short like her grandmother and the family feel that she, the baby, is something special — nothing must happen to Anna. But Anna is an artist or wants to be and she is 18 years old and she wants to do things.

She runs away to Greenwich Village where she meets a tall, dark girl, Mary, also an art student who befriends her and takes her to her apartment. Anna's brother and his friend Richard finally trace her. Dominic (the brother) is immediately interested in Mary and Richard "falls madly in love" with Anna. For some time they meet at the apartment and Dominic feels that he should tell his parents, but he cannot because the happy four would end. Anna's mother misses her baby — she becomes very ill — doctors say perhaps if she could see Anna she would recover. Dominic goes to the Village to get Anna but she has gone. Investigation proves that Richard is also missing. Anna has been torn between love of family, love of independence and the just beginning love for Richard. But she feels that there is something "shady" in Richard's past. After they are married Anna (while looking over some letters in Richard's trunk) discovers that he is secret agent ZBI. Richard is forced to take her to Ozark Mts., and there they live in peace a few brief weeks. He leaves to seek information and is captured. She is brought back by the police and her mother lives. The picture shows her when the police arrive. The light from the door is upon her. She is thin from lack of food (Richard was captured and unable to get word to her) and heartbroken Richard is exiled and she never sees him again. She can never bring herself to marry again for she still loves Richard. She spends her life taking care of her invalid mother and painting.

F-16

Elderly man is looking in the mirror. He hopes that he looks younger than his years. His wife has divorced him and he wants to show her that he doesn't care. The tilt of his hat and his gay tie cannot hide the sadness of his eyes. He is thinking of his wife and their past life together.

F-20

This man is a Russian. He has come to the U.S. to get a job and eventually to send for his beloved wife and children. He

has felt choked and enslaved in Russia. In the U.S. he is able to secure a job but he is very lonely in the New York Russian colony. People everywhere, but his loved ones are far away. One night when he is low in spirit he drinks too much vodka and becomes angry with one of the gathering. In a drunken rage he hits him over the head with a bottle. When the police come they find that the man is dead. The Russian goes to prison. They will not let him write to his family – to punish him. (No, they wouldn't be so mean – that is not logical.) He writes letters but the Stalin government prevents their delivery. The Russian is released after many years, but his wife has died and he can find no trace of his children. He again has his freedom but what can he do with it. (I know I shouldn't but the stories I think of are usually sad. Sad stories are so much more real to me.)

APPENDIX F

Questionnaire and rating forms.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Outline for Interview [1]

1. How long have you lived in ————————?
2. Do you like living here?
3. Do you feel as if you belonged here?
4. If you went away would you want to come back?
5. Would you rather live somewhere else? Why?
6. Would you prefer to live in the city or in the country? Why?
7. Do you like your present job?
8. What is it?
9. Have you worked mostly at the same kind of job or different ones?
10. Which kind have you liked best? Why?
11. About how many jobs have you held during your life?
12. What do you want to be if you could be whatever you want to be most of all?
13. What do you expect to be?
14. Have you been a member of any clubs or organizations or groups here or where you have lived before?
15. What kind?
16. How long did you belong?
17. Did you go to the meetings?
18. Did you ever hold office?
19. What do you do at home to have a good time?
20. What do you like to do best of all for a good time?
21. Do you like to read books?
22. What kind of books do you like?
23. What is your favorite book?

[1] Based in part on the Tolman questionnaire, *op. cit.*, pages 422-443, Appendix D.

24. What is your favorite movie?
25. Do you have regular duties in your home? What?
26. Do you care much about politics?
27. Do you think the country is being run right?
28. Do you believe that rich people usually get their money unfairly?
29. Have you had a fair deal? Why do you say that?
30. How many close friends have you?
31. Could you trust them to help you out in a pinch, even when it would be hard for them?
32. Would you do the same for them?
33. How old were you when you started school?
34. When you left?
35. What grade did you finish?
36. Did you mind stopping?
37. Did any teacher ever pick on you?
38. Did other children like you?
39. If you had it to do over again would you go farther in school?
40. What is your father's business?
41. Was he very strict with you when you were a child?
42. Was your mother very strict with you?
43. Did either your father or mother whip you or nag at you?
44. Were you afraid of your father?
45. Were you afraid of your mother?
46. Are you like either of them? Are you glad of this?
47. What were the things you liked and disliked about your father?
48. What were the things you liked and disliked about your mother?
49. Did either your father or mother have it in for you?
50. Did either spoil you?
51. Did you think other children's fathers were nicer than yours?
52. Did you think other children's mothers were nicer than yours?
53. Did they pay very much attention to you?
54. Were they affectionate with you?
55. Did you tell either of them everything about yourself or many of the things you were thinking?

56. Do you wish you had been more or less strictly raised?
57. In what ways do you wish your folks had treated you differently?
58. Were your father and mother separated? How old were you then? Did either remarry?
59. Did your father and mother get along well together?
60. Did they generally have the same kind of ideas or different? Whose did you like best?
61. In what ways would you want your child's training to be like yours or different?
62. How many older brothers or sisters have you?
63. How many younger?
64. Have your brothers and sisters ever had it in for you?
65. Did you get along well together?
66. Did you feel that any of the others got more "breaks" than you did?
67. Do you and your wife get along well together?
68. About what kind of things do you agree and differ?
69. Have you any children?
70. How old are they?
71. Are they like you?
72. What are you specially good at (anything you like and do outside of working hours)?
73. What are you most afraid of?
74. Suppose you were going to a desert island to live and could take only three people with you. Whom would you choose?
75. Suppose you could have just three wishes granted, whatever you wish most of all. What would you wish for?

Description of Ratings Used for Interview Material[1]

1. Satisfaction with community:
   1. Enthusiastic—
      a booster, loves to live there.

[1] Modified from Tolman, *op cit.*, pages 443-446, Appendix E. The writer is indebted to Katherine C. Walker for her work on the rating scale and to Helen Marshall for permission to use certain items which she devised.

2. Likes the community —
   is identified with it; would regret having to leave if a job offered elsewhere or the family were to move.
3. Indifferent —
   not strongly identified with it; would leave without regret to take a job or accompany his family; no antagonism.
4. Does not care for community —
   would prefer to live elsewhere.
5. Strongly dislikes community —
   would prefer to live almost anywhere else just to get away.

2. Permanence of residence.
   1. Lived all his life in same town.
   2. Lived always in same section of United States —
      very few changes within the region.
   3. No more than one major change of residence, e.g., from East to West coast —
      few changes within region.
   4. Has lived many places.
   5. No permanent residence —
      transient worker family; constantly on the move.
3. Satisfaction with job:
   1. Marked enthusiasm about present occupation or past work experiences —
      no evidence of desire to change to some other type of work.
   2. Fair satisfaction —
      fairly content, but would like to make some minor changes in the situation.
   3. Acceptance of situation —
      without discontent, but with no enthusiasm; an "It's all right" attitude.
   4. Discontented with present job —
      would prefer many other kinds of work, but is glad to have a job.
   5. Strong dislike —

active dissatisfaction with the kind of work he does and with his present job; or has never had a job he liked.

0. No basis for gauging satisfaction —
has had only vacation jobs or worked after school; never had a job.

4. Occupational stability:
1. Regular employment —
held the same job for considerable time; changes have been in the direction of his ambition.
2. Employed with fair regularity —
job changes represent no advancement, jobs held a fairly long time.
3. Frequent changes of employer, but same general type of work.
4. Considerable variation in kind of work and in permanence of employment —
may have no definite goal but takes whatever he can get.
5. Jobs all temporary —
no occupational goals; employed only from day to day.
0. No basis for rating —
has had only vacation jobs or worked after school; never had a job.

5. Group activities:
1. Active participation in group or political affairs —
belongs to two or more organizations; takes part in group activities.
2. Some group activity —
belongs to one non-compulsory organization; votes.
3. Slight interest in organized activities —
non-compulsory membership in a union; membership compulsory, but enjoys meetings.
4. Group affiliations at one time, but no present interest or activity —
may have joined because it was the thing his friends were doing.

5. No interest in group affiliations —
   has never been a member of any organized group.

6. Readiness to assume responsibility:
   1. Occupational choices involve responsibility —
      is holding a responsible job; what he wants to be, his vocational goal, may involve responsibility; has assumed leadership responsibilities in church or community organizations.
   2. Some indications of readiness —
      present position involves minor responsibilities; vocational goals are in the direction of greater responsibilities, some leadership in organizations.
   3. Occupational choices involve little responsibility —
      no occasion yet to assume responsibilities in connection with actual work situation; has had no responsibilities in connection with organizations.
   4. Tends to avoid responsibilities —
      jobs have entailed minor responsibilities only, but goals involve routine tasks without responsibilities.
   5. No idea of responsibility.

7. Attitude toward school while still in attendance:
   1. Interest in school indicated by the fact that he does not want to stop —
      hopes to continue education to finish high school or go to college.
   2. Likes school fairly well —
      may be dissatisfied with some things about it, would perhaps prefer some change of program such as transfer to technical school.
   3. Neither likes nor dislikes school —
      has no interest in his work; accepts going to school as one of the things you do.
   4. Dislikes school —
      expects to continue only as long as he has to till he finds a job.
   5. Strongly dislikes school —
      wants to quit.
   0. Out of school.

8. Attitude toward school after leaving:
    1. Interest in school indicated by the fact that he was sorry to leave —
        would like to continue education, continuing interest in further education indicated by attendance at night school, correspondence courses, etc.; high-school graduation.
    2. Liked school fairly well —
        was reluctant to leave, but is making no effort to continue his education.
    3. Indifferent to school but may wish he had gone farther.
    4. Disliked school —
        may wish he had gone farther in view of greater occupational opportunities.
    5. Strongly disliked school —
        quit because he wanted to and is not sorry.
    0. Still in attendance.
9. Satisfaction with educational opportunities:
    1. Stopped school voluntarily —
        no regrets; no plans for further study.
    2. Regrets not having gone farther in school, but only because of limitation of job opportunities.
    3. Stopped school to get a job —
        regrets having to leave, wants "a chance" to go on, but has no present plans.
    4. Left school unwillingly for reasons of financial necessity or health —
        regrets having to leave, is studying by himself or attending night school.
    5. Left school very unwillingly and regrets it deeply —
        is making considerable sacrifice to go on to college.
    0. In school.
10. Degree of interest in politics:
    1. High degree of interest as indicated by —
        informed comment; strong biases.
    2. Fairly lively interest —
        critical comments; some information, but little evidence of thought.

3. Mild interest —
   uncritical comment; little factual basis.
4. Perfunctory interest.
5. Completely indifferent.

11. Political conservatism·
    1. Reactionary —
       sees no need or justification for social, or economic changes.
    2. Complaisant —
       advocates only minor changes.
    3. Some evidence of "reformer" tendency —
       "something ought to be done" attitude.
    4. Tendency to demand specific changes in social or economic order.
    5. Very strong feeling that drastic changes must be made —
       the world must be completely made over.
    0. No interest —
       "let someone else worry."
12. Social consciousness:
    1. Approves drastic action toward social reform —
       lively interest in some activity toward solution of social problems.
    2. Interested in social problems —
       some activity toward solution of specific problem.
    3. Mildly interested in specific problems —
       maybe expressed through membership in union, etc.
    4. Some awareness of existence of social problems, but unconcerned about their solution.
    5. Indifferent to social problems.
13. Recreation: reading interests:
    1. Keenly interested in good reading —
       enjoys books of high literary or scientific merit.
    2. Likes to read —
       reads some history, travel, or popular science; some information about current literature.
    3. Reading confined chiefly to current fiction and news magazines.

4. Reading serves chiefly the vicarious satisfaction of a craving for excitement —
   expressed in stories of the Western and Adventure type.
5. Reads indiscriminately —
   usually the pulp magazines or newspaper headlines.
0. No reading interests.

14. Recreational autonomy
   1. Appears to have definite interests which enrich his leisure time —
      hobbies, reading, active sports, or active part in organization.
   2. Moderate interest in active employment of leisure.
   3. Leisure spent in the conventional activities available —
      little evidence of selective interest in choice of activities.
   4. Indiscriminate choice of activities —
      interests hazy and indefinite; appears to drift.
   5. No evidence of leisure time interests —
      few outlets.

15. Liking for expressing ideas in reading and writing:
   1. Marked interest in dealing with abstractions —
      work involves dealing with ideas; much of leisure time spent in verbal expression — reading, writing, talking.
   2. More than average interest in ideas —
      such interests evident in choice of leisure time activities.
   3. Leisure time activities fairly active —
      reading interests evident also.
   4. Reads only occasionally and shows little interest in verbal expression —
      interests chiefly in the realm of the practical.
   5. No interest in dealing with ideas —
      thing-minded; seeks muscular and mechanical expression.

16. Freedom from antagonism toward authority:

1. No tendency whatever to resent or criticize authority either personalized or in the form of discipline.
2. Very slight tendency toward critical attitude, but accepts authority philosophically.
3. Some criticism and lack of sympathy with those in authority or with disciplinary techniques.
4. Definitely confirmed critical attitude.
5. Strong antagonism toward authority.

17. Freedom from feeling of persecution.
    1. Feels that he has had a fair deal and has reasons which he specifies as a basis for his feelings —
       no tendency to feel persecuted or picked on.
    2. Thinks he has had a fair deal, has usually got what he wanted, but he is not very clear about the basis for this thinking.
    3. Inclined to think he has not had a fair deal, but has no specific reason for thinking so —
       has not always got what he wanted.
    4. Has specific gripes against particular persons — parents, teachers, the police — who are unfair to him.
    5. Feels that everyone is out to get him —
       bitter and hostile toward everybody.
18. Degree of satisfaction with self:
    1. Is what he wants to be —
       satisfied with educational, social, and occupational achievements.
    2. Satisfied with his accomplishments except in minor ways.
    3. Has not achieved his personal goals, but has no feeling of discouragement —
       is making an effort.
    4. Dissatisfied with himself in many serious ways.
    5. Thinks he does not amount to anything —
       is discouraged and dissatisfied, making no effort to improve the situation.
19. Attitude toward siblings.
    1. Fond of siblings —
       likes to be with them; anxious to help them; includes sib in desert island choice.

2. Gets along well with siblings —
   no antagonism; thinks he "got most of the breaks."
3. Gets along as well as most brothers and sisters —
   some quarrels "about average"; no jealousy, no feeling that another sib was favored.
4. Some antagonism toward one of the sibs —
   many think that one favored.
5. Marked antagonism toward one or more of siblings —
   resents favoritism shown to others.

0. Only child.

20. Attitude toward home:
    1. Very fond of home —
       interests and leisure activities centered around home; likes to work around the place fixing things in preference to going out
    2. Enjoys home —
       spends considerable leisure time at home, but likes to go out too.
    3. Indifferent to home —
       seeks entertainment elsewhere.
    4. Prefers not to be at home —
       spends much of leisure time away from it.
    5. Never at home if he can help it.
21. Stability of home.
    1. Reared by both parents through early adolescence (ca. age 15) in harmonious home.
    2. Reared by both parents through early adolescence (ca. age 15) in home where there was occasional friction.
    3. Home broken by death or separation, or seriously disturbed by marital discord after child was 7.
    4. Home broken by death or separation or seriously disturbed by marital discord before child was 7.
    5. Has never lived in normally constituted home —
       lived in orphanage; or series of foster homes.
22. Parent-child relationship: affection from parents.
    1. Felt himself the object of attention and affection from his parents.

2. Moderate attention and affection from one or both parents —
   may have felt himself favored by one.
3. Little attention and affection —
   but no feeling of special lack or neglect.
4. Felt a lack of attention or affection.
5. Neglected —
   felt in the way; envied other children their parents.

23. Financial adequacy of parents:
   1. Income meets needs and standards of living completely and easily —
      high financial standing in community, no financial worries.
   2. Income moderately adequate —
      meets ordinary needs and there is some property or savings.
   3. Income adequate for daily needs —
      no reserve or savings, no property (may have a car).
   4. Low income —
      meets ordinary needs with difficulty; may be supplemented by efforts of wife or other member of family.
   5. Income precarious —
      family has frequently been dependent or on relief.

24. Financial adequacy of subject:
   1. Income sufficient to meet needs and satisfy standards of living —
      no financial worries.
   2. Income moderately adequate —
      has some savings; may own property; may pay board and rent at home, but could be completely independent.
   3. Income adequate for daily needs —
      no reserve or savings, no property, except may have a car.
   4. Low income —
      meets ordinary needs with difficulty; may be supple-

mented by efforts of wife or other member of family; may be paying part of expenses at home, but could not support self independently.

5. Income precarious —
   frequently dependent or on relief; still dependent on parents and not in school after 18.

0. Dependent on parents because still in school.

25. Absence of reserve with mother:
   1. Great intimacy —
      very close relationship; tells her everything.
   2. Considerable intimacy.
   3. Average closeness —
      does not confide in her especially, but no feeling of strain or inability to confide.
   4. Some distance and reserve.
   5. Very great reserve —
      never confides in her; has never felt close to her.
   0. Has not known mother since infancy.

26. Absence of reserve with father:
   1. Great intimacy —
      very close relationship; tells him everything.
   2. Considerable intimacy.
   3 Average closeness —
      does not confide in him especially, but no feeling of strain or inability to confide.
   4. Some distance and reserve.
   5. Very great reserve —
      never confides in him; has never felt close to him.
   0. Has not known father since infancy.

27. Fondness for parents:
   1. Fond of both parents —
      excellent rapport.
   2. No antagonism toward either parent, but may show preference for one or the other.
   3. Slight antagonism toward the non-preferred or both parents.
   4. Hostility toward one parent with marked preference

toward the other; or conflicting attitudes (ambivalence) toward one or both parents.

5. Marked hostility toward both parents.
0. Has not known parents since infancy. (Do not include in this category children who have lived with one parent and built up toward the other attitudes which have been acquired from the one.)

28. Freedom from antagonism toward mother:
    1. Very fond of mother.
    2. Rather fond of her.
    3. Expresses neither affection nor hostility — may be indifferent.
    4. Inclined to be critical and unsympathetic.
    5. Marked hostility.
    0. No mother.
29. Freedom from antagonism toward father:
    1. Very fond of father.
    2. Rather fond of him.
    3. Expresses neither affection nor hostility — may be indifferent.
    4. Inclined to be critical and unsympathetic.
    5. Marked hostility.
    0. No father.
30. Parent-child relationship: attitude toward parental discipline:
    1. No tendency whatever to criticize or to resent any details of his bringing up — does not wish he had been raised either more or less strictly.
    2. Slightly critical attitude — may harbor mild resentment of some details of up-bringing, may wish he had been raised either more or less strictly, but does not know just what he wishes changed.
    3. Attitudes somewhat critical — would change specific details of up-bringing.
    4. Confirmed critical attitude — wishes he had been brought up very differently; feels that his entire life has been affected.

5. Marked resentment toward discipline —
hostile and feels that his up-bringing has been all wrong.

31. Satisfaction with marriage:
1. Marked devotion and harmony.
2. More sympathy and understanding than average.
3. Average ease and adjustment.
4. Some strain and marital maladjustment.
5. Complete lack of harmony and sympathy —
separated or divorced.
0. Not married.

32. Relations with wife:
1. Shares leisure interests with wife.
2. Little in common with wife.
3. Evidence of strain.
4. Separated.
5. Divorced.
0. Not married.

33. Satisfaction with children:
1. Very enthusiastic about children —
devoted to them.
2. Takes lively pride and pleasure in them.
3. Likes children —
gets along well with them.
4. Tolerates them without enthusiasm.
5. Resents and dislikes children.
0. No children.

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